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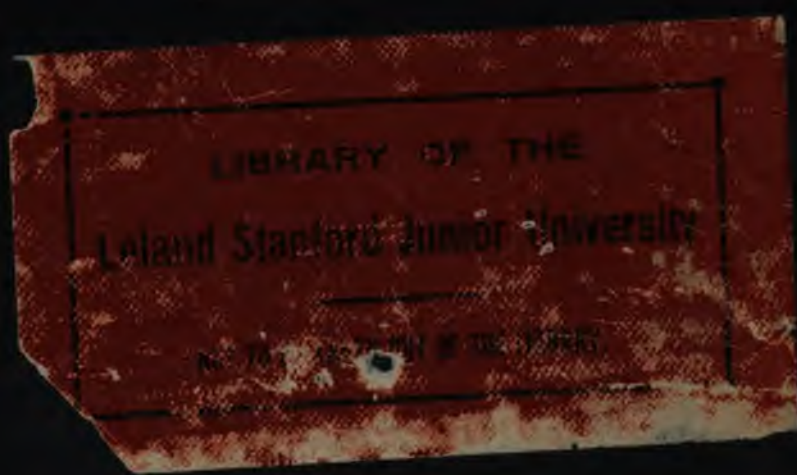
MEN AND MEASURES OF HALF A CENTURY

HUGH McCULLOCH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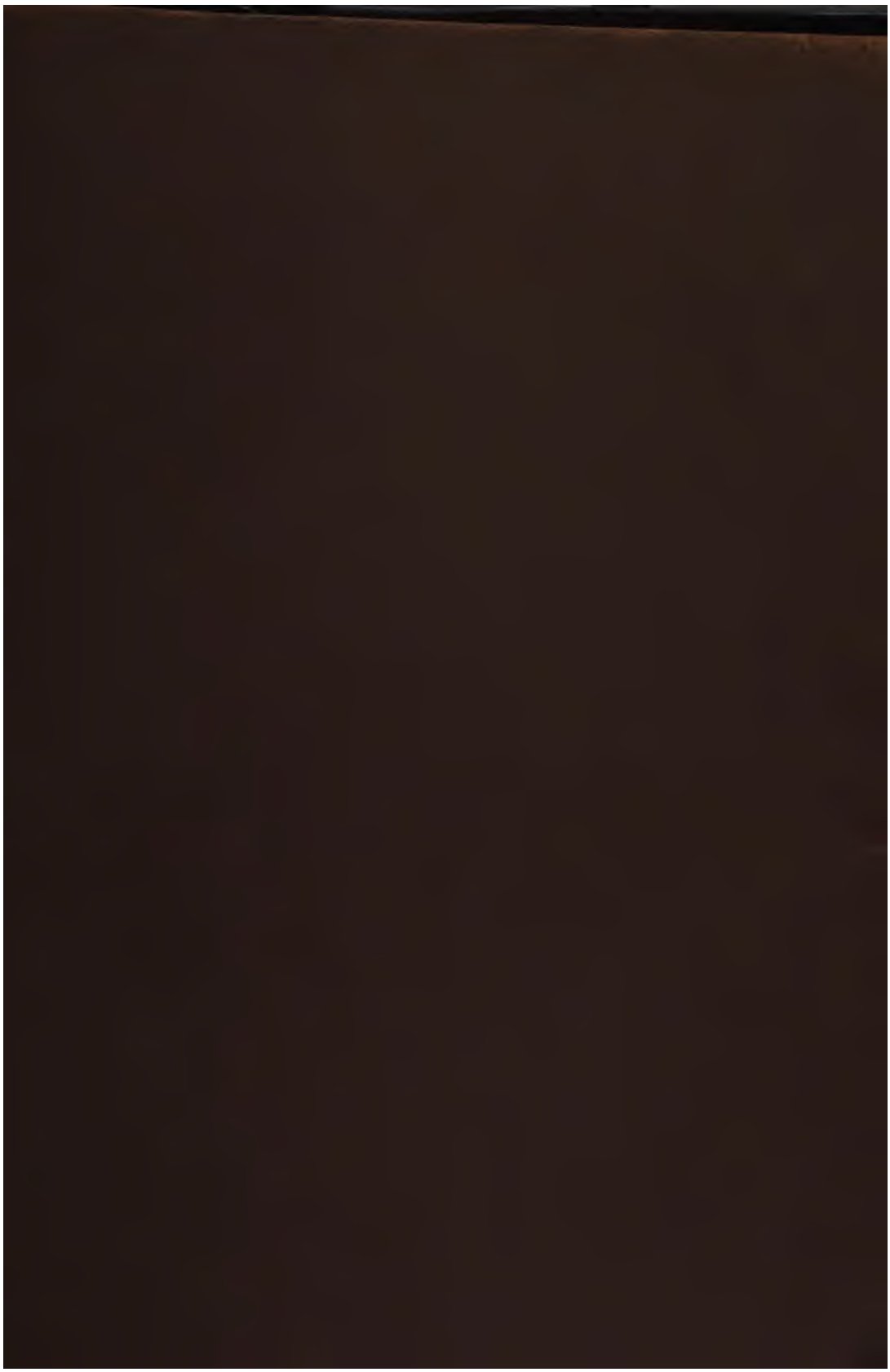

MEN AND MEASURES OF HALF A CENTURY

MEN AND MEASURES OF HALF A CENTURY

SKETCHES AND COMMENTS

BY

HUGH McCULLOCH

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY IN THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF PRESIDENTS LINCOLN, JOHNSON, AND ARTHUR

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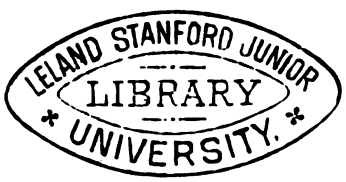

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TO MY WIFE

WHO FOR NEARLY FIFTY YEARS, HAS BEEN TO ME

IN THE FULLEST SENSE OF THE WORD, A HELP-MATE,

I DEDICATE THIS BOOK

PREFACE.

IN the following pages, which, when I began to write, were intended only for my family and personal friends, I have spoken of men and things as they came to mind, without regard to order or consecutiveness. Many of the men were known only in limited circles, but they were well known there, and the impressions which they made upon me have not been effaced nor weakened by intervening years. Of some prominent persons I have spoken with great freedom, but neither as eulogist nor critic. Their historic deeds form important chapters in the national history, and what I have said about them, if it is not now, will, I think, ere long, be in accord with the sentiment of a large majority of their countrymen.

Our civil war was the result of the differences between the free and the slave-holding States in their social and civil institutions. Long before the war it had become apparent to thoughtful men in all parts of the country that these differences were irreconcilable; that the national unity could not be preserved unless slavery were nationalized or uprooted. That it could not be nationalized was certain; that it could not be uprooted by any constitutional exercise of Federal power was

also certain. At the same time there was a radical difference of opinion between the citizens of the free and the citizens of the slave-holding States in regard to the character of the Government. In the free States the prevailing opinion was that the Government was formed "by the people, and for the people;" that by the Constitution the States were bound together in a union that could not be severed except by a revolution, or by a change in this organic law in accordance with its provisions. In the slave-holding States the prevailing opinion was, that the Government was a league between sovereign States, which had united for certain governmental purposes, and that their sovereignty, which had been conditionally relinquished, might be resumed by them, or by any of them, whenever, in their judgment, their interests required it. I have not, therefore, spoken of the civil war on the part of the Southern States as treasonable, nor of those who were on that side engaged in it, as having been traitors. Open rebellion is attempted revolution—not treason. Successful rebellion against real, or even supposed, oppression is always and everywhere honored; it does not become treason by unsuccess. If the colonies had not achieved their independence (and they would not when they did, even with France as an ally, if the mother country had not had plenty of work nearer home), they would not have been guilty of treason. Treason is committed by individuals, not by uprising communities.

Whatever one may think of the folly or the wicked-

ness of those who precipitated the war, one cannot help feeling that it was, after all that may be said about it, a necessity; nor can one help admiring the spirit and constancy which were displayed by the Southern people in prosecuting it. By no people under the sun were they excelled in bravery, and in devotion to what they considered their rights; by none were they ever equalled in the steadfast cheerfulness with which they endured protracted hardships and deprivations. I may go further: No people defeated in a cause which they had at heart ever behaved better than they did when the war was over. One hardly knows which most to admire, the good temper with which the most of them accepted their situation, humiliating as it was, or the magnanimity of the Government in the exercise of its authority. Costly as the war was, the country, and the whole country, was immensely the gainer by it. It put an end to slavery—the apple of discord between the sections. It cemented the Union with the blood of its enemies as well as with that of its friends. It ended in the mutual respect of those who were actively engaged in it. There was no exultation on the part of the victors, no feeling of degradation on the part of the vanquished. The bad spirit afterwards engendered was the work of those whose faces had not been seen upon the battle-field. Of the prominent and meritorious Union soldiers, I call to mind but one who seemed desirous of keeping alive the animosities of the war.

I have said something about the tariff, because it is

a subject that has always been interesting to me, and because it involves questions of the highest importance to the country. The United States is far in the lead of all nations in the enterprises, the industry, and versatile intelligence of the major part of its population; with coal and iron in close proximity, and in inexhaustible supply; with the finest and most extensive cotton-fields in the world; with fertile lands enough for the homes of hundreds of millions of people; with manufactories of almost all descriptions well established and skilfully managed; with unequalled commercial facilities, and with abundant capital and cheap money. That such a country should need protection in its home markets against the competition of nations thousands of miles distant to a greater extent than would be afforded by a revenue tariff, is a conclusion that I have been unable to reach, strong as has been, and is, my attachment to the party of whose economical—perhaps I ought to say political—policy, protection is the corner stone. On the contrary, my conclusion has been, that what was needed by our manufacturers (to say nothing about our farmers, whose wants are becoming painfully pressing), and will become more and more needed as their productive power increases—was, wider markets for their manufactured goods;—the very markets of which they have, to a large extent, been deprived by the measures that have been thought necessary to secure for them the control of the markets at home. Inactive as most of our mills are (very few are being worked up to their

full capacity), there is still overproduction, and manufacturers are combining to limit supplies and maintain high prices at the cost of consumers. Combinations for these purposes are the necessary outgrowth of our protective tariff, and they will exist until import duties are levied for revenue only, and as largely as may be practicable upon luxuries. In our zeal to sustain home industry we have overlooked the importance of foreign markets, which cannot be open to us as long as we subject their productions to very high duties. Of the immense South American trade, which we ought to control, and should now control if wisdom had prevailed in our national councils, very little is left to us except that with Brazil, and that would be carried on with much difficulty if the European demand for our cereals and cotton should be seriously reduced. We buy of Brazil chiefly coffee, to the amount in round numbers of fifty millions of dollars, and sell to her chiefly lumber and flour to the amount of ten millions. The resulting balance we pay by what we send to Europe, the larger part of which goes to England, against which country our protective tariff is mainly aimed. Our trade with China and Japan is of the same one-sided character, and we continue the trade with these nations, one-sided as it is, because tea and coffee are articles which we must have and cannot produce. It is to England, which takes our wheat and flour and cotton and other articles free from duties, that we are very largely indebted for the means to pay the balances

due to the countries I have named, and to other countries in our unequal trade with them. England buys our breadstuffs because she cannot produce what she needs, and she will continue to buy as long as she can buy of us cheaper than she can buy of Russia, and no longer. As long as we maintain a tariff to protect our own manufacturers, we can have no reliable interest in international trade. Those who expect that our lost South American trade can be recovered, or that profitable trade with other nations can be established, as long as we maintain a tariff which is, against many important articles, substantially prohibitory, are expecting what will never be realized. The British manufacturers would be glad if they could have free trade with the United States, not because they can make goods at less cost than they can be made by United States manufacturers, but because they are willing to work at less profit. This free trade they know they cannot have, because they know that the United States Government is to be mainly supported, as it always has been, by import duties. They would be quite content if they were sure that our protective laws would be continued, so that they would never have to meet the competition of United States manufacturers in the markets which they now substantially control.

That the reduction of duties to the revenue standard would affect injuriously mechanical and manufacturing labor in the United States, is not believed by many who have carefully and disinterestedly considered the

subject. High duties are prejudicial to the laboring classes, by increasing the cost of goods with which they must be supplied. Wages are now higher in the United States than in other countries, but so is the expense of living. Steady employment is becoming as uncertain in the United States as in Europe, and strikes are more frequent and persistent here than in any other country. There has never been so much discontent among manufacturing laborers in the United States as there is now, when Protection, in the opinion of its friends, is doing its perfect work; when the duties on many articles are equal to the cost of the labor in producing similar articles by our own manufacturers. Wages depend upon demand and supply, and they will steadily decline in the United States in consequence of the foreign immigration. Humane considerations are not apt to influence the action of business men. There is free trade in labor, and our manufacturers will employ, if they do not import, cheap laborers from the other side of the Atlantic, until wages approach pretty near to the European standard. The outlook for laborers in the manufacturing districts of the United States, if no check is put upon immigration, and no new markets are opened for our manufactured goods, is the reverse of encouraging. With due respect for the opinions of protectionists, I cannot see how the country can continue to be highly prosperous, and peace and order can be maintained in the manufacturing districts, without the admission, free from duty, of the raw

materials which are needed by our manufacturers, nor without a reduction of duties upon many articles which are in general use. The real danger which threatens the country, and especially the manufacturing interests, is, not a reduction of duties to the revenue standard, but the necessity which may exist for so high duties for revenue purposes as will prevent free international exchanges.

The suffrage question to which I have referred, engages little public attention, and yet it is a question of supreme importance, upon the disposition of which the permanency of our republican institutions may depend. "How is this," asked an intelligent foreign looker on, just before our last presidential election—"how is this, that I see frequent reference in the newspapers to the Irish vote, and the German vote, and sometimes to the foreign vote? Do foreigners vote in your presidential elections?" "Yes, they do," I replied; "but not until they have been naturalized." My regret was that I could not say that naturalization laws would doubtless be at least so changed that none but native-born citizens would be voters. What I have said in the following pages upon suffrage expresses but faintly the dangers to be apprehended if immigration continues, and no check is put upon the exercise of the highest of all privileges by those who have no stake in the national welfare, and especially by those whose mission it seems to be to wage war upon all governments, the freest as well as the most despotic. H. McC.

NOVEMBER, 1887.

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MEN AND MEASURES

OF

HALF A CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Growth of England and the United States—Bill for Railroad from Boston to Salem—Jeremiah Mason—Ichabod Bartlett—Stage-coaching—Boston in 1833—Its Commercial Character—Massachusetts—Her High Character—Change in Character of New England Population—Boston—Southern Prejudices against New England—Bishop Spaulding's Anecdote.

LORD DERBY, in a speech delivered at Liverpool in 1872, made the striking remark that the increase of wealth in Great Britain within the present century far exceeded the increase in the preceding 1800 years. This wealth had been chiefly created by her extensive commerce and her manufactures, in which for many years she excelled all other nations—perhaps all other nations combined. The gain in the United States has been the result of agricultural and manufacturing industry, and of the increased value of land; and this increase in the value of land is in a very great degree attributable to canals and railroads, chiefly the latter, without which the most of the great West would have remained a wilderness, and our large cities would have been unimportant towns. It is hardly too much to say, that the United States are twenty times richer than they were a half century ago. The whole world has, indeed, felt the influences that have been at work within this

brief period of its history in pushing onward modern civilization. A large part of it has, in fact, been rejuvenated within a half century. Nearly all of the mechanical inventions, now so indispensable, such as railroads, iron ships, telegraphs, agricultural implements, labor-saving machinery of all kinds, have come into use within less than two generations, but in no part of the world have such changes taken place as in the United States.

In April, 1833, I left my New England home to make my start in life in the West. Fifty-four years are a long time to look forward to, but a short time to look back upon. Crowded as these years have been, in the United States, with events of surpassing interest and importance, they seem too wonderful to have been real. What advances have they recorded in the extent of our cultivated lands, in manufactures, in mining, in facilities of social and commercial intercourse! What changes have they witnessed in our domestic institutions, in the character and in the political and religious sentiment of the people!

A reference to events that have left a lasting impression upon my mind, and to a few of the persons whom I have known in the course of a long life, and to others whom I did not know personally, but who were conspicuous in my early days, with free comments on the changed and changing condition of the country, and with equally free expression of my opinions upon various subjects, may be interesting to my family and friends, if not to others. Within the period named the population of the United States has been more than twice doubled. Sixteen States have been added to the Union, and what was then the far distant West has become the centre of population and political power; but in no section have the changes referred to been more varied and interesting than in New England, and especially in Boston; although the New England States are among the oldest of the States, and Boston is one of the oldest of our cities.

In 1833 there was, if I rightly recollect, but one railroad

in all the New England States—the road between Boston and Providence. In 1832 I listened to an argument made before a House Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts by Jeremiah Mason in favor of a bill for the incorporation of a company to construct a railroad from Boston to Salem. The bill was violently opposed by a turnpike company on the ground that its passage would be an infringement of the chartered right of the company to control the traffic between the two cities. The charter of this company was one of the old colonial charters, which conferred exclusive and perpetual privileges. It created a monopoly of the strictest character, to which the passage of this bill would be a death-blow. The opponents of the bill were not only those who were interested as stockholders in the turnpike company, but such conservatives as dreaded anything which looked like an invasion of vested rights, no matter what the character of those rights might be. Its advocates were men who thought that no monopoly should be permitted to stand in the way of progress; that private interests should be subordinated to the public welfare. The bill presented a question of far-reaching importance, not only to the people of Massachusetts, but to the people of all the States in which chartered monopolies existed. Mr. Mason, then in the meridian of life, and without a peer in his profession, was employed to appear before the committee to which the bill had been referred and advocate a favorable report. I went to hear him, the great New England lawyer, from curiosity only. The subject was a dry one, and I did not expect to be interested in his argument, but he had not spoken five minutes before my attention was absorbed, and although he spoke for nearly two hours I was sorry when he closed. His argument was conclusive. The impression which it made upon my mind has never been lost. It was the first time that I had heard a purely logical speech. It was not eloquence, but concise, clear, cogent argument. It was profound, yet so clear that anybody could follow and understand it. The committee reported favorably upon

the bill, and it was soon after passed by both branches of the Legislature. I never saw Mr. Mason after that time, but I never shall forget how he looked and spoke. He was full six feet and a half in height, and upwards of three hundred pounds in weight. His head, which, while he was speaking, was always slightly inclined towards his right shoulder, was well formed, and although very large, it seemed to be small in comparison with his tall and massive body. His dress was careless, if not slovenly, and there was a wide show of linen between his trousers and his waistcoat. He spoke deliberately. His enunciation and his command of language were perfect. He was not an orator, and was doubtless inferior to many of the lawyers of the day as an advocate before a jury; but in legal knowledge, and in clear and cogent logic he had no equal, not even in Mr. Webster.

Ichabod Bartlett, a contemporary of Mr. Mason, was one of the leading lawyers of New Hampshire. Inferior to Mr. Mason in legal knowledge, he was more than Mason's match in jury trials. In the trial of a case of some importance, in which, as usual, they were on opposite sides, Mr. Bartlett, who was a very small man, in his address to the jury made some remarks which irritated Mr. Mason, who, rising to his full height, said, "May it please the Court, Brother Bartlett is travelling out of the record, and if your Honor does not restrain him, I shall have to pick him up and put him in my pocket." "And if he does," replied Bartlett, "he will have more law in his pocket than he ever had in his head." The laugh was at the expense of Mr. Mason.

I have said that in 1833 there was but one railroad in New England. A daily mail and an accommodation coach were sufficient for the travel between Portland and Boston, the great New England thoroughfare. The trip was made by the mail-coach in one day, by the accommodation in two, and it was seldom that either coach was filled. The mail-coach was occupied only by the very few, with whom time was more impor-

tant than money, and bad as the roads were in certain seasons of the year, it was generally on time. It seemed to be understood that, in the transportation of the mails, everybody was interested, and that the services of all could be called upon to clear the way. My home was in Kennebunk, and I recollect how men and boys, with ox-teams and shovels, were called upon frequently every winter after heavy snow-storms to break the roads for the mail-stage. Now, there is not a county in New England that is not penetrated, scarcely a village that cannot be reached, by railroads. The change in other respects is not less striking. Fifty-four years ago, capitalists were just beginning to make investments in manufactures, in which Dover, New Hampshire, was in the lead. Then the seaboard towns were the seats of commerce and trade; while the people of the interior found their chief employment in farming. There were then more men employed in ship-building and maritime enterprises than in all other kinds of work, except agriculture. Now, New England is alive with manufacturing industry, and is swarming with people who are engaged in mechanical pursuits. Boston was then a commercial and maritime city, in which respect it was second only to New York. Since then, its enormous increase in wealth has been the result of investments in manufactures and railroads. It is no longer the city I knew so well in my early life. There is nothing to remind me of Boston as it then was, except the State House, Faneuil Hall, Beacon Hill, and Court and State streets. All else has greatly changed. The Common and the Mall, which I thought the most extensive and beautiful public grounds in the world, still remain; but the addition of the large garden to the Common has so altered its appearance that I fail to recognize it. Ann Street, where stood the Eastern Stage House—then the best kept, and, until the Tremont House was built in 1831, the most popular hotel in the city; and Milk Street—then the least attractive of its streets, are now bordered by blocks of granite and brick. Scores of acres of what were then known as the

"Flats," covered with water at high tide, have been filled up, and are now the fashionable part of the city. In one part only—the wharves—has the change in its appearance been for the worse. It was then, as I have said, a commercial city. Its great merchants were engaged in foreign trade, from which its wealth was chiefly derived. Long Wharf, Central Wharf, and India Wharf, with their (as it seemed to me) interminable lengths, were lined with warehouses, and their slips so filled that small vessels frequently lay side by side, two or three together. Now they are quite deserted. What was then the glory of Boston has disappeared. It is no longer a great maritime and commercial city. It has increased enormously in population and wealth; but instead of the ships which carried the American flag over the seas into every port where trade could be carried on, one sees at its docks only a few small vessels, engaged in the coastwise trade, in which by our navigation laws foreign ships are prevented from sharing.

But the change for the worse is not witnessed alone in the decline of New England shipping and commerce, but in the character of its population. This change is noticeable in all the New England States except Vermont, but it is most conspicuous in Massachusetts, especially in Boston. Half a century ago the men who owned the city governed it—the men who collected and disbursed its revenues represented its property. Now the control is rapidly passing into the hands of those who have little or no stake in its welfare. There was then—it must be admitted—too much of the aristocracy of wealth in the ascendency; too much of family and social pride in the governing classes; but the city was wisely and honestly governed. Those by whose taxes the city government was supported controlled the disbursements. Now, if those who pay no taxes but the poll tax were united, their power would be very formidable, if not irresistible.

The population of Boston in 1830 was 61,392. In 1880, it was 362,839; but unfortunately this increase has been very

largely in foreigners and their descendants. There has been for many years comparatively little increase—there is now scarcely any increase—in her native-born American population. There are very few large families among the well-to-do people of Boston. The same is becoming true throughout the Eastern States. New England mothers are no longer prolific. The family jewels are not sons and daughters, but stocks and bonds, and luxurious homes. Large families are not the fashion. The births in wealthy families do not much exceed the deaths. To be the mother of many children is not a crown of honor. The command to increase and multiply is disobeyed by those who are the most competent to maintain and educate their offspring. In the mean time, emigrants from Europe and Canada have been coming in to be laborers in the city, household servants, and operatives in manufactories, while the native-born and enterprising young men have been finding employment and making their homes in the cities and inviting fields of other States. This change in the character of the population of New England is going steadily on, and the indications are decided that the control of the cities and towns of at least three of the New England States will soon be in the hands of men who have not a drop of original New England blood in their veins. They will be Yankee States in name only. Fortunately what is their loss is gain to other States. The emigrants from New England have been and are among the leaders in all great enterprises throughout the Union. New England influence has, in a large measure, moulded the sentiment of the country, to which influence Massachusetts has been the largest contributor. Whatever may be the result of the changes in the character of her people, the past of the Old Bay State is at least secure. No State has done so much in aid of all the great material advances of the day, none has done so much to sustain public credit, as Massachusetts. It is to her honor that, large as her debt was, she continued to pay the interest in coin, while all of her sister States, except Cali-

fornia (which never had departed from the coin standard), paid in depreciated legal-tender notes. The temptation to do what was done by other States was great. Her debt was heavy, and in some years its annual burden was doubled by the high premium which gold commanded over what was called lawful money. But she faltered not in her high integrity. Upon her financial banner there were no such discreditable words as "pay according to law," but the honest words, "pay according to the spirit of the contract, no matter what may be the cost." Her course was wise. The reputation which she thus acquired more than compensated her for the cost of the coin in which the interest on her debt was paid, and confirmed the truth of the adage that honesty is the best policy. She made her credit capital, and placed it upon a foundation as solid as the hills.

For her wise policy in the treatment of her debt, and her liberal legislation upon all important questions upon which she has been called to act, she has been greatly indebted to the influence of Boston. I knew that Boston was a delightful city to live in, but on my journey westward I discovered that its good name was of value, even to those who left it. On my way down the Ohio River, I became acquainted with a very interesting Kentuckian who was carrying on an extensive mercantile business in Louisville. As I had thought it was possible that I might make my home in Kentucky, I asked him how I would be received there. "Where do you hail from?" he inquired. "From Boston," I replied. "All right," said he; "if you hail from Boston you will be kindly received in Kentucky, and everywhere in the South. There is," continued he, "a good deal of prejudice against the Yankees in all the Southern States, but not against Bostonians. They are not considered Yankees. We have a good many of them in Louisville, and there are no more popular men among us." I am here reminded of a story which was told at my expense, in 1856, by a Roman Catholic Bishop, Mr. Spaulding, of Ken-

tucky, with whom I was on intimate terms, which illustrated the estimation in which New England people were held in some parts of the slaveholding States. "I was," said he, "some years ago, travelling in the interior of Missouri, where the settlements were sparse, and in which, there being no taverns, I was compelled to stop wherever I could find shelter and food. One day I stopped for dinner at a double log cabin of more than usual inviting appearance. A good-looking white woman welcomed me at the door, and upon entering, I perceived that everything about the cabin was as nice as a new pin. I had not long to wait for dinner, and had scarcely been seated, when a negro came in and took a chair at the table, and before the meal was over I discovered that he was this white woman's husband. After he went out I could not help expressing my astonishment that she should be the wife of a negro. She listened quietly to what I said, and then remarked that for her part she couldn't see anything bad about that. "Why, sir," said she, "I did e-enough sight better 'n my sister. She married a Yankee." The Bishop laughed heartily as he told the story, and I joined him and the rest of the company in the laugh.

CHAPTER II.

Changes in New England Theology—The Westminster Catechism—Dr. Channing's Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. Sparks—Division of the Churches—The Unitarians—The Calvinists—Dr. Beecher tried for Heresy—Thomas Fessenden—His Question to a Dying Christian—Plenary Inspiration.

AMONG the changes that have taken place in New England in the last half a century, few have been more interesting than the changes in its theology. Fifty years ago there were a few Catholics in Boston, and the Methodists and Baptists were just beginning to make headway, but the great body of the people were Congregationalists, who were supposed to hold substantially the same doctrines. The Westminster Catechism was the standard of religious faith. It was taught not only in the Sunday-schools, but in the common schools and in the academies. It was regarded by many with as much reverence as the Bible. I recollect to have heard Mr. Pratt, a teacher for many years in the academy at Saco, where the Monday morning lesson was from the Catechism, say that he numbered the books in his library according to their value. "To which do you give Number One?" I asked. "To the Westminster Catechism." "What! do you place that above the Bible?" "Yes," said he, "I do, because it contains, in small compass, all that is valuable in the Scriptures." As it appeared afterwards, there was among the Congregationalists much diversity of opinion, but all nominally held to the doctrines of the Puritan fathers. The Dissenters from Calvinism and the doctrine of the Trinity kept their opinions to themselves, or gave no such expression of them as would have led to discipline, or produced a rupture in the churches. It was not until Dr. Channing delivered his celebrated sermon at the

ordination of Mr. Sparks in Baltimore, in 1819, in which he attacked with great cogency and eloquence what had been regarded as the cardinal doctrines of the Christian churches—the Trinity and Calvinism—that the diversity in religious sentiment became manifest. A reckoning was then commenced, and divisions speedily followed, and to such an extent that there were very few of the New England churches which were not split in twain. In Boston and the large towns those who agreed with Dr. Channing were a majority. In the country and the villages the unity of the GODHEAD found fewer advocates. The followers of Channing were known as Unitarians. The adherents to the old doctrine claimed to be "orthodox," and clung to that designation. The dividing line ran not only through the churches, but through society and even families. For years the controversy was warm, and in many instances bitter. Theological discussion became the order of the day. Old and young, women as well as men, took part in the controversy, with a spirit ill becoming those who claimed to be the followers of the Prince of Peace. The Scriptures were examined as they never had been, not so much in search of truth, as for texts to support opinions already formed. The best talent in New England was brought into lively exercise. Dr. Channing on the one side, and Dr. Stewart, of Andover, on the other, were the most conspicuous; but other divines, second only to these acknowledged leaders, were earnest combatants. As the Trinity and Calvinism were attacked, the churches in which these doctrines were adhered to became stricter than ever before in their requirements for church membership. None could be admitted whose faith did not come up to the highest Calvinistic standard. The departure from it in any particular, so small as even to require the keenest and most subtle intellect to define it, was heterodoxy. Dr. Lyman Beecher, the robust teacher of New England orthodoxy, who resigned his charge in Boston to take the Presidency of Lane Seminary, near Cincinnati, and to supply a Presbyterian

church in that city, was arraigned before a synod on a charge of heresy, preferred by Dr. Wilson, the pastor of one of the old-school churches. They were both very able men, skilful in polemics and ready in debate. The trial was a very interesting one, not only to the members of the orthodox churches in Cincinnati, but to theologians throughout the country. Nor was the interest in the debate lessened by the fact that very few could exactly understand the points at issue. Dr. Beecher was acquitted, but Dr. Wilson never recognized him as a teacher of truth. If a Calvinist of the present day should examine the records of that trial, he would be surprised to see how little of intelligible difference there was between these two distinguished combatants. Both were Calvinists, both were disciples of Jonathan Edwards, both thought that no one who did not embrace Calvinism, as Edwards had defined it, should be tolerated in an orthodox church; and yet the controversy between them was bitter in the extreme.

The church with which my father and mother were connected sided with the Unitarians, but a small part of the congregation seceded and formed another church, in which pure Calvinism was taught. It so happened that a majority of the members of the Congregational Church in Kennebunk was Unitarian, while the majority in the church of the adjoining town, Kennebunk Port, was overwhelmingly Calvinistic. The pastor of the orthodox church at the Port at that time was Thomas Fessenden, uncle of William Pitt Fessenden, who for many years represented the State of Maine in the United States Senate with distinguished ability, of whom I shall speak hereafter. The uncle, unlike his nephew, was a Calvinist of the strictest school. With him the fall of man by the sin of Adam, total depravity, unconditional election, the perseverance of the saints, were cardinal doctrines, the belief in which was essential to salvation. He believed and taught, as did Dr. Griffin, of Boston, that one of the highest enjoyments of the saved would be derived from witnessing, as they

looked down from Heaven, the justice of the Almighty in the indescribable sufferings of the lost. The test of faith, according to his standard, was willingness to be damned for the glory of God. I recollect perfectly well how excited my father was when he described a scene which he had witnessed a few hours before. He had called to see a favorite niece of my mother—one of the most beautiful, as she was one of the most virtuous, of women—who was dying of consumption. While he was sitting by her bedside, Mr. Fessenden came in. Yielding his seat to the pastor, my father took one a short distance from the bed, and listened to the conversation between the dying woman and her Christian teacher. His inquiries were in regard to her spiritual, not her physical condition. After asking her many questions which were answered satisfactorily, he said to her: "Sister, as this may be the last time we shall meet in this world, I must put to you one more question—a crucial question—Do you feel that you are willing to be damned for the glory of God?" She had heard from the pulpit his descriptions of hell, and the unending torments of the lost, and she hesitated to reply. After waiting a few seconds, he put the question again in a tone of much severity, to which she faintly responded, "Yes, I think I am." Not for her own sins, but for the sin of Adam, she was forced to say that she was willing to be doomed to unending and indescribable torment. Could there have been anything more horrible than such a question, by a minister of the glad tidings of the Gospel, to a dying Christian woman? I never went to hear Mr. Fessenden preach after that, nor did I hear anything more about him until, some forty years after, I asked his nephew, the Senator, what became of his uncle. "Oh," he replied, "he went to Europe about the time you left New England, and was there converted from Calvinism; at all events he never preached it after his return."

I once asked a Calvinistic clergyman, who I understood was a believer in the plenary inspiration of the Bible, if he

really believed that the Mosaic account of Creation was literally true. "Certainly I do," was the reply. "I believe that the Scriptures are the infallible word of God, and that everything therein contained was written under the direction of the Holy Spirit." "You believe, then," I said, "that this world and everything therein, and the sun and the moon and the stars were made by God in six days—that having completed the work he rested on the seventh day, and that this was the origin of the Christian Sabbath?" "Most assuredly, sir,—to doubt it would be to doubt the stability of the foundation upon which all true churches rest." Surprised at this answer from a very able and learned man, I questioned him still further: "You believe, then, that God made the first man Adam, of the dust of the ground, and the first woman Eve, of one of Adam's ribs, and having thus created them and knowing what would be the result, He placed them in a garden, in which the woman yielding to the temptation of the serpent, and the man to the influence of the woman, were guilty of disobedience, and thereby incurred His displeasure, in consequence of which their descendants throughout all ages became the objects of Divine wrath; but in order that all might not perish, He did, in the exercise of His own good pleasure—without reference to any merits on their part, elect a mere fraction of the race to be the recipients of His favor, leaving the rest to suffer, not for their own sins, but for the transgression of their progenitors, and notwithstanding the mission of Christ, unending punishment. How can you," I went on to say, "reconcile such belief as this with the—I will not say the mercy, but—the justice which you attribute to the Almighty?" "I undertake," was the reply, "I undertake to reconcile nothing. I believe the Bible, and although I am not able to comprehend it, I believe that God's justice and mercy in the world to come will be as manifest in the punishment of the many as in the salvation of the few." Such was Calvinism as then taught in orthodox churches. To me, nothing

could be more strange than belief in such a Deity, except that He should be the object of adoration.

Calvinism, although it may be nominally believed, is now rarely taught in American pulpits. Outside of the Andover School, it would, I think, be difficult to find an intelligent man who really believes what were considered the saving doctrines of the orthodox churches fifty years ago. Nor have the changes in religious sentiment been confined to those who were known as orthodox. Unitarianism has changed also. There has been a wide departure by Unitarians from the Unitarianism of Dr. Channing, and of his colleague, Dr. Gannett. Theodore Parker, with whom Unitarians could not fellowship thirty years ago, has been outstripped in liberality by men of a later day. There are now, I think, very few Unitarians who believe in the inspiration of the Bible, or that Christ was Divine in any other sense than as a moral teacher of the highest character, the founder of a religion nobler in its aim and purer in its precepts than any other that has ever existed. There has been evolution in religion, and there will continue to be as long as mankind advance in culture and humanity. The idea of the character of the Deity will not hereafter be formed by that ascribed to him in the Old Testament, but by higher conceptions of what is truly excellent and pure.

CHAPTER III.

Boston—Its Lawyers—Daniel Webster—His varied Talents—His Debate with Hayne—Mr. Calhoun—Sectional Feeling—Race between a Northern and Southern Horse—Mr. Webster before a Jury—Franklin Dexter—Benjamin Curtis—W. M. Evarts—William Groesbeck—Rufus Choate—Richard Fletcher—Mr. Choate and Mr. Clay—Mr. Burlingame and Mr. Brooks—Theodore Lyman—Harrison Gray Otis—Josiah Quincy—Edward Everett—Caleb Cushing—Henry W. Longfellow—Oliver W. Holmes—Interesting Incident.

IN 1831 and 1833 Boston was more famous than now for its lawyers. At the head of his profession then stood Mr. Webster, one of the few men who have obtained great distinction as lawyers and advocates, orators and debaters. He excelled in all these qualities, and in this respect he was without an equal in this country or in others. I call to mind none who, having attained great eminence in the legal profession, fully sustained their reputation in the British Parliament, or in the Congress of the United States. No man can read Mr. Webster's argument in the Dartmouth College case and doubt his extraordinary legal ability; or his speeches in the Knapp trials without being impressed with the power which he brought to bear upon a jury; or his grand orations at the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and at the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument, without acknowledging him to have been an orator of the very highest grade; or his reply to Mr. Hayne in the United States Senate, in the great debate on the Foote Resolutions, without admitting that as a debater he was without an equal.

When this great debate took place I was a student in the office of Joseph Dane, nephew of Nathan Dane, whom Mr.

Webster, in a previous speech, had eulogized as the author of the ordinance which excluded slavery from the northwestern territory. I recollect that the Whigs who gathered together in Mr. Dane's office after they had read Mr. Hayne's speech, looked and talked like men who had met with a great misfortune. The only one among them who was not depressed was Mr. Dane. He knew Mr. Webster personally, and regarded him as the superior of any man living as an orator and debater. "Don't be discouraged, gentlemen," said he. "Wait until you hear from Mr. Webster." They had not long to wait. Two days after Mr. Webster's reply was received. The atmosphere at once cleared up. A weight was removed from all New England and the North generally, from Democrats as well as Whigs. Mr. Webster's speech was not merely the great speech of the day—it was a speech that had never been equalled before. It has never been equalled since, in this country or in any other. It was replete with eloquence and power, clear in statement, grand in language, irresistible in argument. Its exordium was only excelled by its peroration, a master-piece of patriotic sentiment and rhetorical beauty. The debate was continued for some days, but the interest in it ceased with Mr. Webster's speech. Mr. Hayne, the champion of the States' Rights doctrine, having been discomfited, there was no one of his party who was disposed to enter the lists against the champion. At the next session, however, Mr. Calhoun, who had been elected Senator in place of Mr. Hayne, and who it was supposed was not quite satisfied with the manner in which the nullification doctrine of which he was the exponent had been handled, re-opened the debate. He was a more cogent logician than Mr. Hayne, but he was not the equal of Mr. Webster, and while he sustained his high and deserved reputation, the general sentiment of the country was that he shared the fate of his predecessor.

While this great debate was really a contest between Whigs and Democrats, it excited much sectional feeling, so

that the sympathy of Southern Whigs was with Mr. Hayne and Mr. Calhoun, the sympathy of Northern Democrats with Mr. Webster. There had always been sectional feeling between the Northern and the Southern States, and this feeling was sometimes exhibited on occasions of trivial importance. Some years before it appeared in a horse-race between Boston, a Southern, and Eclipse, a Northern horse, and there was as much interest manifested in it as if the destiny of the nation depended upon the result. It was witnessed by hundreds of the most prominent men of the Southern States, and a very large number of Northern men, many of whom had never witnessed a race of this kind, and would not have been present but for the sectional feeling that was aroused. The horses were the finest specimens of racers, and the race was a very close one. It was won by Eclipse, and the result was hailed as a victory for the North. I recollect how deeply the Northern boys were interested in it, how they shouted and threw up their hats in the air when the result was announced. Sectional feeling existed in colonial times. It was intensified by anti-slavery associations in the Free States, and by the denunciations of slavery by Northern speakers and writers. The abolition of slavery has not put it to rest. It will never entirely cease until the negro vote is divided in the South, as will be the case when there is no outside interference and its unity is not encouraged for other purposes than the general welfare.

I have said that Mr. Webster was the only man I ever knew or heard of who united in himself the highest qualities of an advocate, orator and debater. He has never been excelled, if equalled, in making difficult and intricate questions intelligible to jurors. Seeing clearly the real points at issue, and using language that anybody could understand, his statements of the points at issue were arguments. He never permitted the minds of jurors to be diverted from the real question upon which a case turned. Brushing aside every-

thing that was not essential, the strong points only were presented by him, and those with exceeding clearness. I was struck with this the first time I heard him before a jury. He was defending a man who had been indicted for forgery. To obtain a verdict, it was necessary that the State should not only prove that the forgery had been committed, but that the forged instrument had been uttered in Suffolk County, where the case was being tried. To my surprise, at the very commencement of the trial, before a witness had been called, Mr. Webster rose to his feet and said in a quiet manner, "May it please the Court, we admit the forgery, so that evidence on this point will be unnecessary. We deny that the note was uttered in this county." I was amazed at this admission. To me it seemed to be giving away the case. But the wisdom of it soon became apparent. Mr. Webster was quite sure that the forgery could be proved, but he doubted that the State would be able to prove that the paper had been issued in Suffolk County. His doubts were confirmed. The defendant was acquitted for want of proof on this point. If both the question of forgery and of the issue of the paper in the county had been presented, the jury might have regarded the forgery as the real question, and the defendant might not have escaped the punishment which he merited.

Mr. Webster's eyes, although deep-set, were so penetrating that few guilty men could endure their piercing gaze. One of his clients in a case of considerable importance informed him that he thought a witness on the other side intended to commit perjury. "Point him out when he comes into the court-room," said Mr. Webster. The witness soon after appeared and took a seat in a swaggering manner, when, looking towards the bar, his eyes met those of Mr. Webster fixed steadily upon him. He immediately looked in another direction, but, as if fascinated, he soon turned his face again towards Mr. Webster, to meet those deep penetrating eyes, which doubtless seemed to him to read his very soul. He moved

nervously in his seat for a few moments, then rose and left the court-house, to which he could not be induced to return. I have heard the opinion expressed that in legal knowledge—that is to say, knowledge of the law as contained in the books—Mr. Webster was surpassed by such men as Jeremiah Mason and Samuel Parker and Chief-Justice Shaw. This is undoubtedly true. To be a great lawyer in that sense a man must make the law a constant study, and not aim to be distinguished in any other direction. No man of his years ever excelled Mr. Webster as a lawyer until he entered into public life. After that his attention was turned to constitutional and economic questions, and strictly legal studies had to be neglected. In the argument of legal questions before the courts his briefs were prepared by his assistants, and no man knew better how to use them.

The Boston bar at that time included many eminent men. Franklin Dexter was, I think, the son of Samuel Dexter, and was scarcely inferior to his illustrious father. Benjamin R. Curtis, then quite a young man, must have given evidence of what was in him, for soon after he obtained the very highest rank at the Boston bar. After the death of Mr. Story, he was appointed one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, but he did not long hold the place. The cause of his resignation I have never heard, but I know that it was deeply regretted by the members of the bar. I heard Mr. Curtis for the first and last time in the impeachment trial of President Johnson. Being a member of Mr. Johnson's Cabinet, I felt no little interest in the trial, and it is possible that my judgment might have been influenced by that fact; but a recent reading of his opening argument satisfies me that it was what I then regarded it, an argument of marvellous clearness and force. In this trial, Mr. Evarts had an opportunity for the display of his extensive learning, his wit, and his extraordinary command of language, and they were displayed in a manner that charmed all who heard him except the prosecuting lawyers and the Senators whose prejudice

against Mr. Johnson extended to his counsel; but in clearness of statement and concentrated logic, it was inferior to that of Mr. Curtis. The two speeches, however, ought not to be compared. They were different, and they differed as the men differed, in their intellectual composition, but that both speeches were of consummate ability is undeniable. This trial resembled that of Warren Hastings in many respects, but in none more than in the high qualities of the leading lawyers who were employed in the defence. Burke and Sheridan in the trial of Hastings; Curtis and Evarts in that of Johnson. In this trial a gentleman was associated with Mr. Curtis and Mr. Evarts who was then little known as a lawyer, outside of Cincinnati—Mr. William Groesbeck. He was then in feeble health, and his physical strength gave way once or twice in the course of his argument; but his speech was so remarkably vigorous and able that I repeatedly heard the expression, that it was unfortunate for the country that a man of such high culture and legal ability should have been the son of one rich man and the son-in-law of another still richer, and that his chief employment was necessarily found in the management of his large estates.

But to return to the Boston lawyers: Rufus Choate, then a young man, was beginning to take high rank in his profession. Richard Fletcher had recently come from New Hampshire or Vermont with a distinguished reputation for his legal acquirements and acumen. Both he and Mr. Choate were afterwards members of Congress, the former in the House, the latter in the Senate, and both failed to meet the expectations of their friends. Mr. Fletcher had asserted that a bill under discussion had been prepared word for word in the White House, and not by the committee which reported it. This was denied by some of the members of the committee, in language stronger and more personal than was parliamentary. Called upon for proof, Mr. Fletcher was unable to make good his assertion, and, in the estimation of the House, was convicted of making a

statement for which he had no warrant. Mr. Choate failed, not for want of ability but for want of nerve. In an altercation with Mr. Clay, he quailed before the threatening manner of the great Kentuckian, and was consequently supposed to be deficient in pluck, which defect was in those days, and is still, fatal to a man in public life. A person who witnessed the altercation, said to me: "Choate was one of the ablest men in the Senate. If he had knocked Mr. Clay down instead of quailing before him, he would have been a Webster." Pluck is needed in all the walks of life, but in no place more than in Congress. The sentiment of New England was strongly hostile to duelling, but Mr. Anson Burlingame did not suffer by his acceptance of the challenge of Mr. Preston S. Brooks. On the contrary, he was the gainer by it throughout the country as well as in Massachusetts. There were many other lawyers at the Suffolk bar, hardly less distinguished than those I have named, but all have disappeared except Sidney Bartlett, who, during a long life—he must now be nearly ninety—has maintained the very highest reputation as citizen and lawyer.

Nor was Boston less distinguished by its sons who were not connected with the legal profession. Theodore Lyman, father of the gentleman of the same name who deservedly stood high in the Forty-eighth Congress, was a gentleman of the highest culture and of commanding influence. Harrison Gray Otis, who conferred honor upon the distinguished name he bore, stood at the head of the social and intellectual society of Boston. He was a man of whom any city or State might justly have been proud. Simple in manners, pure in character, highly cultured, he was a gentleman of the best type of what is called the old school. He was one of the most graceful and captivating of speakers, and as an elocutionist second only to Dr. Channing. The first time I heard him was when he was chairman of a large meeting in Faneuil Hall. He made, of course, the opening speech, and as I listened, I thought it the perfection of eloquence. The next morning it was published

in the newspapers, and although correctly reported, it did not read like the speech that had excited my admiration. The speech was a good one, but it was the charming voice, the graceful delivery, the perfect elocution, that made it seem to be a speech of extraordinary eloquence. The only time I ever heard Mr. Webster in Faneuil Hall was at a meeting of which Mr. Otis was chairman, soon after the veto by President Jackson of the bill making appropriations for the extension of the national road to the Mississippi. In speaking of the nationality of the enterprise, of the necessity of it as a means of communication between the Eastern and Western States, Mr. Webster said: "There is no road leading everywhere; no road over which everybody or even a majority of the people travel, except, except,"—and here he seemed to be at a loss for a word—"except the road to ruin," interjected Mr. Otis, in his clear and penetrating voice:—"Except the road to ruin," shouted Mr. Webster, "and *that's an Administration road!*" when down came a thousand feet upon the floor of the grand old hall with an emphasis that made its thick walls tremble as if struck by a thunderbolt.

Hardly less eminent than Mr. Otis, by birth and social position, and superior to him in scholarship, was Josiah Quincy, then President of Harvard University. Both were Federalists (there were then very few high-toned men in Massachusetts who were not); both lived to be old men—Mr. Otis to be eighty-three, Mr. Quincy to be ninety-two. Alike in most respects, they differed radically upon the slavery question. Mr. Quincy was an abolitionist, in open sympathy with Garrison; Mr. Otis, if not pro-slavery in sentiment, was hostile to the anti-slavery movement, which he regarded as being fanatical and dangerous to the Union. It seems strange that these two men, after they had retired from active political life, both able to look upon the subject from the same standpoint, both clear-headed, patriotic and disinterested, should have held opposite opinions upon the most vital question of the day.

Edward Everett was then second only to Mr. Webster as an orator. In scholarship and manner of speaking, he was Mr. Webster's superior. He was perhaps the finest classical scholar of the day, the greatest linguist that ever went to Congress, except Caleb Cushing. It was said of Mr. Cushing that he could translate all the European languages; that while in Congress there came to the State Department a document that no one in that Department could interpret. Upon the suggestion of some one who had heard of Mr. Cushing's reputation as a linguist, it was sent to him, and he translated it without difficulty. Mr. Cushing was a ready and effective speaker, and a very able and learned lawyer. He was one of the few men whose voice could be heard in the chamber of the old House of Representatives, and who never spoke without commanding the attention of the members. He lacked only one thing, the possession of which would have made him one of the most distinguished men of his time—convictions. Mr. Everett did not maintain his high reputation in Congress. He was an orator, not a debater, and he was too refined in character, too much of a gentleman to be perfectly at home in the lower House of Congress.

Mr. Longfellow was then, if I recollect rightly, living in Maine, and had given but slight indications of the genius which subsequently manifested itself in the poetry which has made his name immortal. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was a few years younger than Mr. Longfellow. I never heard of him till some years after, and then by his "Table-Talk" which arrested public attention, and which will never fail not only to amuse but to instruct. Since then, his name has become, like Mr. Longfellow's, a household word. In varied accomplishments Dr. Holmes has but few equals. An admirable talker, a fascinating lecturer, an excellent prose writer, and a poet hardly inferior to Mr. Longfellow or Mr. Whittier, he unites in himself more high, and I may say more lovable qualities than any man of whom I have any knowledge. It may be

truly said that few men have done more to make the world happier and better than Dr. Holmes.

I had been a great admirer of Dr. Holmes before I met him, for the first time, in 1878, when I went to Cambridge to deliver a course of lectures at the University on the invitation of President Eliot (who, by the way, is the only man that I have known in whom with ripe scholarship and extensive learning are united administrative, executive and business capacity of a very high order). An incident occurred there which seemed almost to create a relationship between us. My brother Thomas, the best man and the best scholar of his Harvard College class, died at the commencement of his senior year in 1817, and was buried in the churchyard near the college. Over his grave his classmates (one of whom was John Everett, brother of Edward) placed a very handsome marble slab with an inscription, prepared by the professor of languages in the college, which is said by scholars to be one of the most beautiful pieces of Latin composition that was ever written. On the day before I delivered my first lecture, Dr. Holmes and President Eliot were comparing notes as to what each knew about interesting things in Cambridge. Dr. Holmes claimed that, although he was a citizen of Boston, his knowledge of what had happened in Cambridge was better than Eliot's, although he was President of the University. "You don't know, for instance," he said, "where the students were buried before we had Mount Auburn." He then repeated the inscription referred to. "What do you think of that?" "It is very beautiful, indeed," said Mr. Eliot, "and perhaps you don't know that Mr. McCulloch, who is to speak to us upon finance, is a brother of him whose epitaph you have repeated." "No, indeed," said Dr. Holmes. "I shall be right glad to meet him." He called upon me the next day, and informed me how he happened to know anything about my brother. "My father," he said, "was a clergyman in Cambridge when your brother was at the college. He visited him every day, and sometimes

oftener, during his illness, and manifested so deep an interest in his sad case, that although I was but eight years old I became greatly interested in it also. I went to your brother's funeral, and there have been very few years since in which I have not visited his grave. The circumstances of your brother's sickness and death are fresh to me now." Since that interview with Dr. Holmes, I have felt something more than admiration of him.

CHAPTER IV.

The Boston Clergy: Channing, Gannett, Parker, Lowell, Ware, Pierpont, Palfrey, Blagden, Edward Beecher, Frothingham, Emerson, Ripley, Walker—Outside of Boston: Upham, Whitman and Nichols, Father Taylor, the Sailor Preacher—James Freeman Clarke—Edward Everett Hale—M. J. Savage—Decline of Unitarianism—The Catholic Church—Progress of Liberal Thought—Position of the Churches in regard to Slavery—The Slave Question.

DISTINGUISHED as Boston was in 1832 by its lawyers and literary men, it was still more distinguished by its clergy. There were Channing and Gannett, his colleague, Parker, Lowell and Ware, Pierpont, Walker, Frothingham, and Palfrey, among the leading Unitarians; and Blagden, Edward Beecher, and many others whose names I have forgotten, among the orthodox. It cannot be said that this was a period of religious revival, but it was a time when theology engrossed the public attention in an unprecedented degree, and when the keenest intellects were engaged in theological study and discussion. There was an array of talent in the Boston pulpit that has never been equalled since. At the head was Dr. Channing, than whom there never lived a purer man or more consistent Christian, or one who to a greater degree exemplified in his character the doctrines which he taught; whose elocution was so perfect and sympathetic; whose thoughts were so elevated, that without a gesture and without raising his eyes from his manuscript, he used to bring tears into the eyes of the most critical men in Boston. Never physically strong, he became so feeble towards the latter period of his life that he had to rest entirely during the week days in order that he might be at his desk on Sunday mornings, when

he spoke with his old-time vigor. His brilliant intellect shone out to the last, and his voice, that no one could listen to without delight, never lost its sweetness. The little book which he wrote upon slavery presented, in language at which slaveholders themselves could not take offence, arguments against the peculiar institution of unequalled force. His essays upon Milton and Napoleon were not surpassed by the best of Allison's or Macaulay's. His sermons were models of pulpit oratory, breathing the very spirit of Him whom he considered the inspired teacher. It is not strange that his name to this day is reverenced on both sides of the Atlantic.

It is enough to say of Dr. Gannett, that he was fit to be the colleague of one so illustrious, and yet they resembled each other very little except in their earnestness and faith. Dr. Channing abounded in emotion, but was without passion, and except in his sermon at the ordination of Mr. Sparks, was never aggressive. Gannett was not wanting in Christian charity, but so full of zeal was he that his controversial armor was always on, and so enthusiastic that he seemed out of place in a Unitarian pulpit.

If I could do so without dwelling too long upon the Boston clergy, I should be glad to speak of other distinguished preachers whom I frequently heard: of Pierpont, who always attracted large audiences; of Lowell, the distinguished father of the more distinguished son; of Henry Ware, who greatly resembled Dr. Channing in mind and character; of Palfrey, who in general learning was surpassed by no man in his day; of Putnam, of Roxbury, who read the Scriptures with so much expression that they seemed like a new revelation; of Frothingham, the classic scholar and beautiful writer; of Walker, distinguished for his scholarship and power as a speaker; of Ripley and Emerson, both young men then of great promise, but who, unable to keep within the boundaries of the Unitarian faith, abandoned their pulpits, the former to become a literary critic of the highest distinction, the latter to be a

leader in Transcendentalism, and a philosopher and thinker of world-wide reputation. Outside of Boston and its vicinity there were Nichols and Whitman of Portland, and Upham of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who were men of extraordinary ability, whom I frequently heard in Kennebunk. Upham was one of the most diffident and bashful of men outside the pulpit, but in the pulpit he was perfectly at home, and very few men commanded to a greater degree the attention of his audiences. Whitman was troubled with asthma, but he was a brilliant writer and an energetic speaker. Dr. Nichols was remarkable for the sententious compactness of his sermons and his scholarship. One of his sermons, upon the value of Sunday as a day of rest, I recollect with perfect distinctness, although it was delivered nearly sixty years ago. After speaking of the Sabbath as being of Divine ordination, and evidence of Divine wisdom, he combated the argument of those who were opposed to its observance on the ground that laboring men could not afford to lose a seventh part of their time, when the whole was needed to provide for the wants of their families, by contending that there was so much work to be done in the world, and that the laboring men received as much for six days' work as they would for seven; and he concluded the discussion in his usual emphatic manner by saying: "To sum up this whole question, the poor men have a day of rest, and the rich men have to pay for it."

But among all the clergymen of Boston, there was no man more respected, no one who did more good in the pulpit and out of it, than Father Taylor, the sailor preacher. Himself a sailor in early life, he understood the sailors' wants, and the temptations as well as dangers to which they were exposed, and he labored to improve their habits and condition with an unfaltering earnestness, which showed that his whole soul was in his work. He did much to improve the character of the sailor boarding-houses, which were then among the pests of the city, and to promote temperance among the sailors. On almost any

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leader in Transcendentalism, and a philosopher and thinker of world-wide reputation. Outside of Boston and its vicinity there were Nichols and Whitman of Portland, and Upham of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who were men of extraordinary ability, whom I frequently heard in Kennebunk. Upham was one of the most diffident and bashful of men outside the pulpit, but in the pulpit he was perfectly at home, and very few men commanded to a greater degree the attention of his audiences. Whitman was troubled with asthma, but he was a brilliant writer and an energetic speaker. Dr. Nichols was remarkable for the sententious compactness of his sermons and his scholarship. One of his sermons, upon the value of Sunday as a day of rest, I recollect with perfect distinctness, although it was delivered nearly sixty years ago. After speaking of the Sabbath as being of Divine ordination, and evidence of Divine wisdom, he combated the argument of those who were opposed to its observance on the ground that laboring men could not afford to lose a seventh part of their time, when the whole was needed to provide for the wants of their families, by contending that there was so much work to be done in the world, and that the laboring men received as much for six days' work as they would for seven: and he concluded the discussion in his usual emphatic manner by saying: "To sum up this whole question, the poor men have a day of rest, and the rich men have to pay for it."

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day one might have seen him in the streets near the wharves, with a knot of seamen about him, listening to his counsels like children to a father. His chapel was a plain but good-sized building, upon which, a half-hour before services were commenced, the United States flag was hoisted as being a more suitable invitation to sailors than the ringing of a bell. It was seldom indeed that the chapel was not well filled. As vessels were constantly coming and going, his hearers (they could hardly be called a congregation) were as constantly changing, and during the long time that he preached in Boston, there were few sailors who came to the city who did not go to hear him, and more attentive and interested hearers would not be found in any of the city churches.

Father Taylor was a natural, and in his way a gifted orator, and never failed to command the attention of the commonest sailors. He knew just what to say, and how to say it. I was very much struck with this faculty when, one Sunday, as he was entering the chapel, a note was handed him containing a verse from the Bible, from which he was desired to preach. He read the note, which was signed "An Aged Seaman," but instead of preaching from the verse, he made the signature his text. "An aged seaman," he repeated in a tone of impressive sadness—"an aged seaman! and why are there so few aged seamen? Why is it, among the hundreds that are before me, that there is not a single old man, scarcely one who is past middle age?" He then went on to give the reasons in language that thrilled his hearers like a trumpet. He spoke of intemperance and other vices for which they were themselves responsible, in words of severity and warning. Much they had not received, and much would not be required of them, but for what they had received they would be accountable on that great day when the sea and the land should give up their dead. Then, in a different strain, he spoke of the dangers to which they were exposed, and which had shortened the lives of so many fearless men; of the hurricanes which

nothing could withstand; of the lee shore, with its ragged reefs upon which so many gallant ships were hurled by the pitiless winds and waves; of the seamen struggling, struggling in vain in the surging billows, in tones that brought tears to faces which had been hardened by vice and exposure, and when he closed with the words, "God save the mariners when no human hand can save, in the raging of the great deep; God be merciful to those who are sunk in vices deeper and more dreadful than the sea!" and dropped upon his knees to pray, every one of that large assembly knelt also. It was altogether a most impressive scene—those hardy men for whom the world cared so little, listening to their beloved preacher, tears streaming down their faces, showing how deep was their interest in his words, and bending their knees and heads with him in prayer—a scene never to be forgotten.

Father Taylor was beloved by all who knew him. He could hardly read when he commenced preaching, but by giving to study every hour which was not employed in his regular work, he became a man of considerable education. His entire deficiency in this respect in his early life, and his hard work to overcome that deficiency, made him careful in regard to the education of his children. One of his daughters, Mrs. Bradford, wife of General Bradford, Paymaster of the United States Navy Department, was one of the best educated women and best talkers that I ever met. Father Taylor was made comfortable in pecuniary matters long before he died, and he left behind him as many sincere mourners as any man of his time. He never permitted himself to be troubled about the dogmas of religion, and he was honored and beloved by the clergy of different denominations who witnessed his good work. The only bad treatment he ever received was from Dr. Breckenridge of Kentucky, who had a decided and uncontrollable antipathy against all preachers who did not stand square upon the old Presbyterian platform.

The period to which I have referred was the palmy day

of Unitarianism, which, if not declining, is making small progress in comparison with that made by other denominations. It still numbers in its clergy James Freeman Clarke, Edward Everett Hale, M. J. Savage, and other men of merited distinction, but besides these it can no longer point to, as its champions, such men as Channing, Dewey, Ware, Lowell, Gannett, Whitman, Upham, Nichols and Walker. The causes of this decline are obvious. Unitarianism is an intellectual faith; it fails to meet the natural craving for a religion that appeals to feeling and enlists the sensibilities. It neither claims Divine origin, nor to be the only door through which entrance is to be obtained to the divine life. As the belief in the supernatural dies out, the religious sentiment weakens. There never has been, and probably there never will be, a deep, settled, wide spread religious faith that is not based upon its claims to supernatural ordination. This is not claimed for their faith by Unitarians. There are very few of this denomination who believe in the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, or who regard the Bible as anything more than a national and literary history of the Jewish nation, covering a long period, and largely made up of Jewish traditions of the Creation, and Jewish notions of the character of the Deity: the most wonderful of books, but not the product of Divine inspiration. Then too, the form of worship in Unitarian churches is severely simple. There is nothing in it to please the eye or to excite the fancy. It lacks the ceremony and pomp which render worship in Catholic churches to ordinary men so interesting. Unitarians are of course tolerant, and tolerance in theology is an evidence of the absence of strong conviction. Much as toleration is commended, no church that favors it can ever be numerically strong. The church whose claims are the highest will always have the largest following. Charity may cover a multitude of sins, but the church that throws the broad mantle of charity over churches of a different faith, will not be permanently strong in its membership. The growth and per-

manency of the Catholic Church are largely the result of its claims to infallibility. Admirable as it is in its organization—the most perfect that has ever existed—it would lose its hold upon its people if this claim to infallibility were relinquished, and it should become so liberal towards other denominations as to admit that there could be safety for those around whom it had not thrown its protecting arms.

In contemplating the changes which have taken place in the theology of the United States during the last fifty years, one cannot fail to observe that liberal thought has made the greatest progress where there was formerly the least of it. For two hundred years Puritanism held the New England churches in its iron grasp. When the grasp was loosened, a reaction took place, and liberal thought asserted itself with a power which seemed to have been invigorated by its long suppression; and yet, strange as it now seems, it was a long time before the people of New England became so tolerant as to sanction a free expression of anti-slavery sentiments. It was long after this emancipation of thought, that such men as Garrison and Phillips were mobbed in Boston, and that Miss Martineau, who had been received with open arms by the cultured society of that city, was socially ostracized by the same society, as soon as she was known to be in pronounced sympathy with the anti-slavery leaders. It is still more strange that the strongest supporters of the peculiar institution were found in the churches. To their honor it must be said, that the Unitarian churches, under the lead of Dr. Channing, were the first to break ground against slavery. It was noticeable that the position of the churches in regard to this great question was, in most cases, defined by their creeds. The churches whose corner-stone was the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, which sanctioned slavery, could not regard it in the United States as being sinful, or inconsistent with Divine justice. The really earnest anti-slavery men and women were either those who had no fellowship with the churches,

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and did not hesitate to denounce them as supporters of slavery, or the members of churches who, while clinging to the Bible, did not believe that all its teachings were divine and fitted for the civil and moral government of nations in a progressive civilization.

It must, however, be admitted that, although the leading thought of the North was greatly agitated on this question, the mass of the people would have cared little about slavery at the South if it had not been necessarily aggressive, and they would never have struck a blow, or permitted a blow to be struck, for its abolition on moral grounds only. It was not shaken by outside pressure. Its death-knell was sounded by the first gun that was fired upon Fort Sumter. It was to have been the corner-stone of the Southern Confederacy, but fortunately that stone was never laid. It was destroyed at enormous cost of treasure and blood; by no other means could it have been destroyed.

It is lamentable that the only door of escape from a great and aggressive evil should have been a civil war, but this fact, lamentable as it is, only proves what the history of the world has so frequently exhibited, that no great and beneficial change for the benefit of the race is often effected except by the instrumentality of the sword.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from New England—William Emerson—New York—Philadelphia—Baltimore—Wheeling—The Ohio River—Thomas F. Marshall—Emancipation—Feeling in Favor of it checked by the Profits of Slavery—John Bright and the Opium Trade—Mr. Adams—Mr. Adams's Speech upon the Right of Petition—Mr. Marshall in Chicago—Cincinnati in 1833—Importance of Railroads to the West—Alexander Ewing—Cincinnati as a Manufacturing City—Distribution of her Manufactures—Her High Character.

IN April, 1833, I started for the great and (compared with what it is now) unsettled West, by railroad from Boston to Providence, thence by steamboat to New York, where I remained a couple of days to see something of what was rapidly becoming the great commercial city of the Union. Here I renewed my acquaintance with William Emerson, (brother of Ralph Waldo), who, some years before, had been my teacher in Kennebunk. With him I went to the Battery, then in its old-time beauty, in the neighborhood of which were the fine residences of the aristocracy of the city; to the City Hall, which still remains unchanged, and in architectural design has not been surpassed by any public building in the country; to St. Paul's, which had been built in the style of the Wren churches of England, and was regarded by many as being not inferior to the finest of them in symmetry and grace. The long row of dwelling-houses in what was then upper New York, Lafayette Place, had just been completed. They were the show houses of the city; I was taken to them that I might see what elegant, commodious and expensive houses the New Yorkers were building. My visit to New York was very agreeable—made so chiefly by the kindness of Mr. Emerson, who, less distinguished than his brother Ralph Waldo, possessed

many of his admirable qualities, with simple manners and ripe scholarship. From New York I went by steamboat to Amboy, by railroad to Bordentown, and from Bordentown to Philadelphia, by steamboat. The only thing in this part of my journey that I especially recollect was the beauty of the Delaware. The journey from Philadelphia to Baltimore was made by railroad and steamboat. I spent but a single day in either city, but long enough to see the charming parks in the former, and the monuments—the finest I had ever seen—in the latter. From Baltimore I went by rail to Frederick in Maryland, and thence by stage-coach, two days and one night, over the Cumberland (National) Road to Wheeling.

The Ohio was in good boating condition, and the journey down the river was charming. It then deserved the reputation it had, of being one of the most beautiful rivers in the world. There was nothing but a few straggling villages to mar its original beauty. The magnificent forest through which it flowed had been quite untouched by the great destroyer, the woodman's axe. Its banks had not been stripped of their beauty, as they have been since by the destruction of the magnificent trees that covered them, and disfigured by the inroads which, in consequence thereof, the waters have made upon them. For miles upon miles nothing could be seen but the sky and the river and the grand old forest through which it ran. Occasionally we overtook flat-boats loaded with coal or lumber, or met a high-pressure stern-wheel steamboat, making slow progress against the stream. There was little else than these and the puffing of our own steamer to break the pervading solitude.

On my way down the river I read with great interest a number of letters, just published in pamphlet form, by Thomas F. Marshall, in advocacy of the gradual abolition of slavery in Kentucky. In these letters the slave question was very ably discussed. The injurious effects of slavery upon the industrial condition of the State were illustrated by comparison of the

rapid growth of Ohio on the one side of the river, with the slow growth of Kentucky on the other, and its injustice to the slave, and its depressing influence upon enterprise, were presented with great independence and force. Many other Kentuckians, like Mr. Marshall, were then the advocates of gradual emancipation, and it seemed for a time that the sentiment in this direction in that State would sweep everything before it. For a short time only, however, did this sentiment prevail. It disappeared in Kentucky, and took no deep hold in the other border States, as the demand for slave labor increased in the cotton, sugar and rice-producing States, and the raising of slaves became more profitable. If the cotton-gin, one of the most valuable of labor-saving machines, had not been invented, and the cultivation of rice and sugar had not yielded large returns, slavery might years ago have disappeared in the South, as it had in the North.

The extent to which the moral sentiment of nations is subjected to pecuniary interest—the heart to the purse—is a sad evidence of human perversity. The control which money exercises over principle has been witnessed in other nations as well as in our own. I will name but a single instance. Great Britain is the most civilized of nations. Nowhere else is the moral standard so high; in no other country are hospitals and asylums so well sustained by voluntary contributions, or life and property so thoroughly protected by the administration of just and equal laws, and yet Great Britain is guilty of the unparalleled and atrocious crime of forcing upon China the trade and use of opium, merely because the sale of it to the Chinese yields large revenues to India. The eloquent denunciation of this great crime against humanity, by such men as John Bright, whose opinions and feelings are not governed by lust for gain, are unheeded by the Throne and Parliament. The iniquitous trade is going on, and will go on as long as revenue can be derived from it, and there is force to perpetuate it.

But to return to Mr. Marshall: I saw him twice—once when he was in the meridian of his intellectual strength, the accomplished and magnetic orator; and again when he had fallen from his high estate to be the slave of intemperance—an object of painful commiseration. A few days after the unsuccessful effort was made in Congress in 1842 to pass a resolution of censure against John Quincy Adams, for presenting a petition from citizens of Massachusetts for the dissolution of the Union, in which effort Mr. Marshall took a leading part, I happened to be seated with some Southern members of Congress at the dinner table of one of the Washington hotels, when Mr. Marshall came in. It seemed that Mr. Adams had said or done something that day which had irritated these gentlemen, and as Mr. Marshall was taking his seat at the table, one of them exclaimed, "Well, Marshall, the old devil has been at work again; you must take him in hand." "Not I," replied Mr. Marshall, with a decisive shake of his head; "I have been gored once by the d——d old bull, and have had enough of him. If there is to be any more of this kind of work, it must be undertaken by somebody else. The old devil, as you call him, is a match for a score of such fellows as you and I."

Mr. Adams's speech upon the right of petition in 1837 was one of the most effective and triumphant speeches ever made in Congress. The great speech of Mr. Webster, in reply to Hayne, was not listened to with more interest. Mr. Adams was one of the most remarkable men that this country has produced, and in no respect was he more remarkable than in the fact that he became a great offhand speaker after he had left the Presidency, and had reached the period in life after which there is usually a decline instead of improvement in intellectual vigor. He had, some time before, represented his State in the Senate of the United States, and his district in the House; in neither of which was he a very prominent member. Soon after the expiration of his term as President, he was nominated for Congress by the Anti-Masons, whose cause he had

ardently espoused, and was elected. As it is very difficult for one who has held a high position, and filled it with ability, to sustain his reputation in a lower one, and as he had given no evidence of possessing the gift of oratory, or readiness in debate, his friends were apprehensive that his career in Congress would be anything but brilliant. Their apprehensions were very soon dissipated. He proved himself to be a vigorous and ready speaker, perfectly at home amid the rough-and-tumble conflicts of the House. He was re-elected eight times, and during his seventeen years of continuous service, he was, what no other member has ever been, perfectly independent. His sympathies, as far as he indicated any, were on the side of the Democrats; but he incurred the bitter hostility of those from the South by his advocacy of the right of all men, slaves as well as free, to petition Congress for the redress of grievances. He was a free lance, and hard hitter. With his armor always on, he was never unprepared for a tilt with any one who was bold enough to enter the lists. His great learning and command of language made him a most formidable and dangerous antagonist. Pugnacious by temperament, he loved a fight better than he loved his friends, of whom there were few, and with none was he ever long in perfect accord. Before he commenced his Congressional career, he had alienated from himself his old Federal allies, and he entered into no alliances afterwards. He was hated as few public men have been, but his great ability, perfect independence, and thorough uprightness, commanded the respect even of those who hated him. In the great speech to which I have referred, he achieved the very highest reputation as a debater and orator. It was a speech in which learning and argument and the bitterest satire were so combined as to overwhelm his opponents, and secure for himself the name of the "Old Man Eloquent," which he afterwards retained. He died with his harness on in the chamber in which he had been, for so many years, the commanding figure.

Many years after I saw Mr. Marshall in Washington, he was pointed out to me in the Lake House, in Chicago, sitting upon a bench, with the messenger boys, and talking to them incoherently—a mental and physical wreck. He had joined temperance societies, and made temperance speeches equal to the best of Gough's, for, like Gough, he spoke from his own experience. His description of the terrible next morning following the night's debauch, was as truthful and touching as it was graphic. For months together, he seemed to have conquered his enemy—a thirst for intoxicating drink—but its hold had become too strong to be overcome. He resolved, and re-resolved, and died the victim of alcohol. I have known many victims of intemperance, but none who have fallen from so distinguished a position, whose ruin was so lamentable and complete.

In 1833, Cincinnati was the great city of the West—the Queen City it was not inaptly called, although its population did not exceed thirty-five thousand. It lay between the river and the hills, which were covered with noble trees and carpeted with a sod of as deep a green as the finest of the old lawns of England. In 1880, it had a population of 255,139. It has extended its borders up and down the river and over the hills, but it is less beautiful now than it was fifty years ago.

I had letters of introduction from Rev. John Pierpont to William Starr, and William Green, two of the foremost men of the city, which gave to me access to the best of its society. This society was largely composed of New England people, and the New England influence prevailed to such an extent, that Cincinnati seemed like a second edition of Boston. It was not then what it has since become, a manufacturing city. There were in its population very few foreigners, and if there were any Catholics, who have since become so numerous, they were so obscure as to be quite unknown to the citizens generally. It was a commercial city, situated in the very heart of a very fertile country, with a commanding position upon the

Ohio. It was, even then, the centre of a large and rapidly increasing trade.

The great market for the surplus productions of the Mississippi Valley was New Orleans, and it was only by the rivers that this market could be reached. All of these surplus productions were taken to it by flat-boats or barges and steamboats, chiefly the former, and thence shipped by sailing vessels to the Eastern States or to European ports. New Orleans was then so unhealthy that very few persons who had not been acclimated ventured to remain there from July to November, and it had no conveniences for handling goods; but notwithstanding these serious drawbacks, in very few cities of the world was so large a trade carried on, and none surpassed it in prosperity, until railroads became active and successful competitors with rivers.

Nothing shows more clearly the changes that have taken place in what was then the West, than the fact that for many years after I went to Indiana, the sole dependence of the farmers of nearly all of the West for sending their agricultural products to market, and obtaining supplies of goods in return, was upon streams which, with the exception of the Mississippi, the Missouri and the Ohio, were navigable, even in favorable seasons, only for the smallest craft, during one or two months in a year. In those days settlements were mainly confined to the borders of the rivers, and it sometimes happened that the small ones were so low the year round, that even flat-boats could not be floated upon them. The June freshet was, however, confidently expected; and this expectation was usually realized. In anticipation of it, the flat-boats at the shipping points were loaded in advance and made ready for it when it came. I recollect that in 1835 the rise of the upper Wabash was so much later than usual that some of the owners of the flat-boats became discouraged, and sold the corn with which they were laden at six cents a bushel. But the river did not fail. The rain fell, the waters rose, and in a few days

the purchasers of the corn were richly compensated for what they called their "trust in Providence."

It is to railroads, which now penetrate all sections of the Western States, that the enormous growth of these States in population and wealth is mainly attributable. Without them they would have remained pretty much what they were (except in the vicinity of rivers and the lakes) half a century ago—a magnificent wilderness. The construction of the Illinois Central Railroad first opened for settlement the fertile prairie section of Illinois. I recollect the time when no one thought of living on the grand prairie, away from the timber land which fringed it; when one who had crossed on horseback this treeless and trackless region was regarded as having made a difficult and venturesome journey.

A country, no matter how fertile, must be of little value without markets for its productions; and but for railroads, there would have been no accessible markets for a region large enough and rapidly becoming populous enough to cast into the shade any of the European States, except Russia. Chicago, the central city, which excites the admiration of all visitors, and whose praises are constantly in the mouths of its enterprising citizens, would have been to this day an insignificant town if its avenues of trade had been confined to the lakes and to the Erie Canal. Railroads have not only opened vast regions for settlement, but they have been the great distributers of wealth. They have made lands hundreds of miles away from water courses as valuable as those in their neighborhood. They have stripped some cities and towns of their commercial importance, but they have opened the way for millions of industrious people into regions which, without them, the axe and plough would not have touched.

I have spoken of Cincinnati as having been a commercial city. It is still such, but not exclusively or mainly. I had been for many years a visitor to the city on business before I understood that its rapid growth had not been owing alone to

its agricultural and commerical advantages. Some forty years ago, however, I happened while there to meet Mr. Alexander Ewing, one of the prominent citizens, and the conversation between us turned to the subject of the rapid growth of the city. In the course of the conversation I remarked that one ought not to be surprised at its growth, when one considered the advantages it enjoyed in having so fertile a country around it, and the markets which were opened to its trade by the river. "It is true," he replied, "that Cincinnati is fortunate in this respect, but it is not these advantages, but its manufactures, which are sending it ahead so rapidly." "Manufactures?" said I. "Do you mean to say that Cincinnati is a manufacturing city?" "Yes, I do mean just that," he replied. "Manufacturing is doing more to build up Cincinnati than everything else. Get into my carriage with me, and I will satisfy you that what I say is true." To me a city without water-power and large factories, and yet a manufacturing city, was an anomaly.

We spent some hours in driving about the city, and in every part, except where were the residences of the wealthy people, we found hives of manufacturing industry. Here were shops where iron-workers were employed. Further on were the shops of wagon and carriage makers; beyond or alongside of them, extensive furniture factories. In fact the whole lower part of the city seemed to be filled with buildings of plain exterior, which, upon entering, we found to be alive with running wheels and active and skilful hands, turning out all kinds of articles, for which there was a constantly increasing demand in the new country. "In these shops," said Mr. Ewing, "small and insignificant as they seem to be, goods which are worth millions upon millions of dollars are annually manufactured. There is scarcely anything that farmers need for their farms or their homes which is not made in this city, which you have supposed to be commercial only. Not only is Cincinnati doing much to supply what we call the home

demand, but large quantities of her manufactures are being sent by the way of New Orleans to foreign countries. Trade and commerce pay well; farming pays, and you know," he said significantly, "that banking pays, but nothing gives so large returns as the conversion of raw materials into finished goods. Now," said he, "let us go to the levee and see where the goods that these workshops produce are going."

This was in May, and the river was full, but not overflowing. The levee was lined with barges, from which coal from Pittsburgh was being unloaded, and with steamboats, some of which had just come up from New Orleans deeply laden with sugar, molasses and coffee; while others, and the larger part, were taking on board Cincinnati manufactures of all descriptions. Some were bound for New Orleans and St. Louis; some for the towns upon the upper Mississippi and Missouri; some for points on the various tributaries of these great rivers. "Now," said Mr. Ewing, "let us go back to the hotel, and see where the places are to which these steamers are bound, what markets we have for our manufactures, what a nice little country we have out here west of the Alleghanies." So with the map before us we traced the rivers which these steamboats were to travel, the Mississippi from the Gulf up to Fort Snelling, the Missouri I cannot tell how far, the Ohio up to Pittsburgh and down to the "Father of Waters," the Wabash to Lafayette, Indiana, the Kentucky and Tennessee as far as they were navigable, etc., etc. What an extent of country was drained by these streams! Since then what an empire it has become! What is to be its future, with its swarming millions of people of nationalities so diverse, who is bold enough to predict?

Of the superior commercial advantages that Cincinnati possessed for many years, railroads have in a large degree deprived her; but she is still a great, thriving and prosperous city, of such solid wealth, that she feels the effect of financial trouble as little as any other city of the Union. She was for-

tunate in the character of her early inhabitants. They were not only men of enterprise, but men of rare intelligence, liberality and taste. The impress they made upon her remains to this day. She has been largely outstripped by Chicago, and to some extent by St. Louis, in business and population, but she surpasses both and is equalled only by one of the Eastern cities, in the munificence of her wealthy citizens, and the progress she has made in the cultivation of art. Cincinnati is still a great manufacturing city. Before the Western States were penetrated by railroads, her interior position, and the cost of transportation from the seaboard, were a sufficient protection to her manufactures. Since then, and especially since 1862, her manufactures have been stimulated in common with those of other cities, by our protective tariffs.

CHAPTER VI.

Madison, Indiana—Jeremiah Sullivan—Algernon S. Sullivan—License to practise Law—Charles Dewey—Isaac Houck—Isaac Blackford—Blackford's Reports—Prominent Young Men in Indiana in 1836—Joseph G. Marshall—Caleb B. Smith—Richard W. Thompson—Henry S. Lane—Edward A. Hannegan—Samuel Parker—Horace P. Biddle—George G. Dunn—William McKee Dunn—Lucy Stone—Samuel Judah—District-Attorney Howard—George H. Proffit—John B. Howe—John B. Niles—The Harrison Campaign—Condition of the Country—Low Prices, and the Causes—Removal of the Government Deposits by General Jackson—President Van Buren—Creation of State Banks—Sneers at General Harrison—Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign—Singing effective in Politics and Religion—Scene at a Church in Cincinnati—Failure of Harrison's Election to bring Relief to the Country—Usual Causes of Financial Troubles in the United States—The Pennsylvania Bank of the United States—The Specie Circular—Disastrous Effects of the Failure of the Pennsylvania United States Bank—The Pet Banks—The Bank of Michigan—Depression in Prices of Leading Articles.

WHEN I left New England, I had no definite notion as to which of the Western States I should go, but as I had a cousin, the only person I knew west of the mountains, living in Alton, Illinois, I should probably have gone there if I had not met at Cincinnati Mr. E. M. Huntington (some years after a United States circuit judge), who thought so highly of the prospects of Indiana, of which State he had recently become a citizen, and advised so strongly that I should see something of it before I went further, that I concluded to stop for awhile, at least, in Madison, one of the largest and most thriving of the Indiana towns. I had a favorable letter of recommendation from Mr. Webster, which I exhibited to Jeremiah Sullivan, one of the leading lawyers of the State, with the request that I might be permitted to spend some time in his office, to become acquainted with the laws of the State and learn some-

thing of Western practice. My request was readily granted, and I spent four or five weeks very pleasantly in Madison, devoting six hours to study, and spending the rest of the day in roaming over the picturesque hills which surround the city, and about the adjoining country, which was then being rapidly settled, chiefly by farmers from Kentucky.

Mr. Sullivan was a high-toned, talented Virginian, who placed me under great obligations by his kindness and advice. He was afterwards one of the judges of the Supreme Court, and he filled that high position with eminent uprightness and ability. A year before I met him, he had, as one of the Fund Commissioners of the State, visited Boston on official business. He said to me one day that he had gone there with Virginia prejudices against the New England people, but that this prejudice speedily gave way in the social atmosphere of Boston. He expected to meet people exclusive and repellent, devoted to making money and wanting in hospitality. On the contrary, he found them warm-hearted, cordial, and, while wide awake to their own interests, genial and hospitable. It so happened that he was in Boston on the Fourth of July, and witnessed an old-fashioned Boston celebration of that day. He saw the usual procession, and listened to a patriotic address in the cradle of liberty, Faneuil Hall. "Never," said he, "had I beheld such a hearty demonstration of patriotic sentiment. I am," he continued, "a Virginian, root and branch, but I could not help feeling that if the liberties of the country were ever lost, their last resting place would be in New England." One of Mr. Sullivan's sons, Algernon S., a lawyer in New York, recently deceased, resembled his father strikingly in appearance and held a high rank in his profession.

I had not been admitted to the bar when I left New England, and in order to practice law in the Circuit Courts of Indiana (for I had not been long in Madison before I had determined not to go any further west), it was necessary that I should pass an examination by two circuit judges and

receive from them a license. I was examined by Judge Eggleston in Madison, and then went to Salem, some thirty miles distant, where the judge of another circuit was holding court. There my license was perfected, and there I became acquainted with Charles Dewey and Isaac Houck, who, with Mr. Sullivan, were the famous legal trio of Southern Indiana. Dewey and Houck were New England men. Houck died before his ability had been fully developed (I attended his funeral a few weeks after in Indianapolis), but young although he was, he exhibited legal talents which only required a longer life and a wider field for their display to have secured for him high rank in his profession.

Dewey was subsequently one of the judges of the Supreme Court, and an associate of Mr. Sullivan's. The head of that court for many years was Isaac Blackford. I am quite sure that three abler judges than Blackford, Dewey, and Sullivan could not have been found in any court in the United States. Blackford's reports are acknowledged authority in all courts of the Union. They receive by all judges the most respectful consideration to this day. Dewey would have been an ornament to the Supreme Court of the United States when Marshall was its chief justice. Although his mind was eminently judicial, he was reputed to be a captivating speaker. He rarely spoke at political meetings, however, and I never heard him except at the funeral of his friend Houck. His remarks on this painful occasion exhibited a command of choice language which few men possess. In personal appearance he was like Mr. Webster. He had the same swarthy complexion, broad forehead, deep-set eyes and brawny figure. Mentally and physically he resembled Mr. Webster more than any one I ever met.

A few years after, there came to the front in Indiana a number of young men whose equals as speakers and in intellect are rarely found anywhere. Conspicuous among them were Joseph G. Marshall, Caleb B. Smith, Richard W. Thomp-

son, Henry S. Lane, Edward A. Hannegan, Samuel Parker, Horace P. Biddle, and, a little later, George G. and William McKee Dunn.

Marshall was in public life only as a member of the Indiana Legislature, in which he had no equal as a clear, concise and forcible speaker. His arguments in the Supreme Court of the State were listened to by the judges with the utmost respect. Before a jury in important cases he was singularly effective. I became acquainted with him a few days after I reached Madison, and my admiration of his ability increased with my acquaintance. He was the strongest man of his years that I had known. He died young, at the commencement of what promised to be a brilliant career. Smith was one of the best off-hand speakers of the State. He had a wonderful command of language and a clear, ringing voice which was none the less pleasant by reason of a lisp, which he did not care to overcome. An earnest, enthusiastic Whig, he was always ready, although apparently unprepared, to advocate and defend the principles of his party. He was appointed Secretary of the Interior by Mr. Lincoln, but he lacked industry and executive ability, and in that position he failed to meet the expectations of his friends. Thompson was a model of graceful oratory. His voice was sonorous, his periods rounded and perfect. He lacked conciseness, but his hearers were never wearied by his speeches, long as they usually were. He represented his district in Congress for a number of years, and won there an enviable reputation. He was appointed Secretary of the Navy under Mr. Hayes, which office, after holding it for a couple of years, he resigned to become president of the Panama Railroad Company.

Lane did not take high rank as a lawyer, but as a popular and effective stump speaker he was not equalled by any man in the State. The meetings at which he spoke were always lively. His speeches would not have "borne reporting" like those of Thompson, but in passing by a building in which

he was speaking one could always tell who was the orator by the almost continuous shouts which he never failed to call forth. In the United States Senate, of which he was a member for one term, he did not take high rank. He always spoke well, but his style was better fitted for popular assemblies than the Senate. No purer or more honorable man ever lived. Hannegan was also a United States Senator for six years. He had previously represented his district in the House. He was a natural orator, who could speak better than he could write. The seats in the Senate were never empty, and the galleries were always full when he was the speaker. Had he been temperate and industrious, he would have been one of the most prominent and useful men of his day. Parker was not an orator, but he was a keen and ready debater. To come off unscathed in a discussion with Parker, an opponent had to be thoroughly armed and equipped. If there was a weak place in his armor, Parker was sure to hit it. Biddle was a better scholar than any of his compeers, and an admirable story-teller, an excellent mimic and a wit. I have laughed more in listening to Biddle's political speeches than at those of any one I ever heard. He was withal a good lawyer. As one of the Judges of the Indiana Supreme Court he deservedly stood high.

George G. Dunn, like Mr. Marshall, died young. He was an able lawyer, fluent in speech, skilful in debate. Of invective he was a master. His command of vituperative language was extraordinary, but there was nothing low or coarse in his vituperation. He served two terms in Congress, and, young although he was, he won before the end of the first session of the first term a reputation that the oldest and ablest members might have been proud of. One of the Representatives from Maryland, himself a man of mark, said to an Indiana friend of mine: "Your Mr. Dunn is one of the ablest men, if not the ablest man, in Congress." William McKee Dunn made himself known in the convention by which the Constitution of the

State was amended. In this convention, although one of the youngest of the members, he was distinguished by his legal knowledge, sound judgment and readiness in debate. The reputation which he had acquired in this convention he maintained, and more than maintained, as a member of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congress. In 1864 he was appointed Assistant Judge Advocate in the War Department, which office he held until he succeeded Judge Holt as Judge Advocate General, filling this position with marked ability until January, 1881, when, to the great prejudice of the service, he was retired by President Hayes, to make place for Major D. G. Swaim. Mr. Dunn was an ardent Whig, and an earnest, uncompromising Republican. His recent death was deeply lamented by all who knew him.

And here I cannot forbear to say a few words about Lucy Stone, the only woman that I heard speak upon a platform in the West, after hearing whom I was in accord with Wendell Phillips in the opinion he expressed, that not only should women be allowed to speak in public, but if there were many like her, they should be the only speakers. She delivered two lectures in a good-sized hall in Fort Wayne in advocacy of the rights of women. My seat at the first lecture was near the platform, to which fact I attributed my ability to hear her distinctly, for she spoke in what seemed to be a low, conversational tone. At the next lecture I sat on the bench that was farthest from the platform, and although she spoke in the same low tone, I heard every word as distinctly as I did on the previous evening when I was not more than six feet from her. I had heard many men with lusty lungs and clear voices speak in the same hall, and I knew how much effort was required by them to make themselves heard. And yet here was a small young woman whose sweet, silvery tones reached every ear in a crowded hall as if they had been trumpet-tongued. She spoke without notes and with great earnestness and feeling, but there was no straining for effect, nothing

like mere declamation, in her manner of speaking. Her aim was to show in what respects women had been unfairly dealt with, and to define the natural rights of which they had been deprived or prevented from enjoying by law or public opinion. And this she accomplished with so much clearness and force that there were few in the large audiences who were not in sympathy with her. The only time she became excited was in her second lecture, when she repelled the assaults that had been made upon herself and others for what they were publicly doing in behalf of their sex.

There was need at that time of just such hearty and effective workers as Lucy Stone and her co-laborers in the cause of woman, and their labors were not in vain. They gave to the public sentiment a direction which resulted in very important changes in the laws of most, if not of all the States, such changes, for instance, as those which secured to women rights to property. In Indiana and in many other States before this movement was commenced, the dower of widows whose husbands had died without providing for them by will was one-third part of the rents and profits for life of the lands of which their husbands were the owners, and these lands in a new country were often unimproved. I knew many instances in which the widows of men who were extensive land-owners were left without any means of support. These and other unjust laws have been radically changed, and women in Indiana now have equal rights with men in regard to property, and in many other respects are made their equals. These important and rightful changes in the legal rights of women were largely owing to the labors of Lucy Stone and others of her class.

If I had not given so much space to the gentlemen I have named whom I knew personally and well, I would speak of Samuel Judah, the best-read man in the State, and one of her ablest lawyers; District-Attorney Howard, an able lawyer and a man of the purest character; George H. Proffit, who ranked

among the most distinguished stump speakers; Andrew Kennedy, who was then just beginning to exhibit talents which would have made him a leader of the Indiana Democracy, had not his career been cut short by untimely death; John B. Howe and John B. Niles, who were not active in politics, but who stood high in the legal profession. Niles having become disgusted with Calvinism, became a Swedenborgian. In his estimation Emmanuel Swedenborg was the wisest man that ever lived: a prophet, and more than a prophet.

In the Indiana Harrison campaign of 1840, Thompson, Smith and Lane were the most prominent speakers on the Whig side; Hannegan and Kennedy on the Democratic. In that campaign public feeling was altogether with the Whigs. The financial crisis of 1837 was followed by a long period of severe depression, during which business of all kinds was pretty nearly dried up. In the flush times of 1835 and 1836 almost everybody in all the States had run heedlessly into debt, and in most States when the crisis came relief was sought in stay and appraisement laws which completed in those States the general stagnation. There were more unemployed people in the United States than ever before, and, as is generally the case in times of financial trouble, the masses were disposed to attribute their misfortunes to other causes than the true ones. The true causes were, inflation of the currency, injudicious extension of credit, and widespread speculation. In the estimation of the masses, however, the main cause was bad administration of the Federal Government. There was really nothing especially objectionable in the administration of Mr. Van Buren. The financial crisis came when he was President, but he was not responsible for it. Mr. Van Buren was far above the average of our Presidents as a statesman, with a character above reproach. He was unfortunate in being President in a time of great disaster. Had prosperity prevailed, his administration would have been endorsed by his reëlection. His defeat was not a triumph of Whig over Democratic principles

(there was no principle involved in the canvass); it was the result of hard times.

To a calm observer, if there could have been one in the United States at the time, the Harrison campaign would have been extremely amusing. When General Harrison, who was styled the hero of Tippecanoe by having distinguished himself on that battle-field, was nominated, a foolish article appeared in some Eastern newspaper, in which he was spoken of contemptuously as a man who should go back to his log-cabin and be content with his usual beverage, hard cider. This was regarded as a proclamation by the aristocratic classes, that no man who did not live in a fine house and could not afford to drink wine was to be elected President; and by general consent the Log Cabin and Hard Cider became emblems of the Whig party. There was great demand for cider, and cabins made of rough poles were the most prominent objects in Whig processions. In addition to speech-making and log-cabin processions, singing came into requisition. The most popular of the songs was one which referred to Mr. Van Buren as being a used-up man, and which could with a few changes be extended indefinitely. I recollect but a single verse of the song, which was always sung with great enthusiasm. The triumphant victory of the Whigs in the State election in Maine was the first in the contest:

"Oh, have you heard the news from Maine,
Maine, Maine, all honest and true?
Seventeen thousand is the tune
For Tippecanoe and Tyler too,
For Tippecanoe and Tyler too,
And with them we'll beat little Van,
Van, Van is a used-up man,
And with them we'll beat little Van."

Nothing could be more absurd than such songs, but almost every Whig joined in singing them, and, though absurd, they served to enliven and give spirit to the campaign. They did

as much as speaking or the processions for the election of Harrison.

Singing has played an important part in creating religious as well as political feeling. In the early days of Methodism in the United States singing constituted a large and effective part of its exercises. To sing well was an indispensable qualification for the ministry. It made up for deficiencies in other respects. When I was a boy there was a Methodist circuit rider in the circuit in which I lived, who excelled, as Sankey does, in singing, and the boys, of whom I was one, always hailed his coming to Kennebunk with the greatest delight. One of his hymns which he sung with great spirit, and which was a favorite with all of us, although the subject was far from being a pleasant one, was descriptive of the last judgment. One of the stanzas ran thus:

"The chariot, the chariot! its wheels roll on fire,
As the Lord cometh down in the pomp of His ire.
Lo! self-moving it drives on its pathway of cloud,
And the heavens with the glory of Godhead are bowed."

It so happened that I was in Cincinnati when there was a great revival in one of the Methodist churches. Upon going out of the hotel one evening I perceived that a crowd was flowing towards this church, and I followed it. When I entered the church every seat seemed to be taken, but the presiding elder, who occupied the desk, noticed me, and beckoned to me to come forward, which I did, and took the only vacant place on what was called the anxious seat—a bench in front of the pulpit that was reserved for those who were termed "seekers." I was not one of the seekers, but I was not unwilling to be seated among those that were.

The sermon was a good one, plain and practical, but it lacked enthusiasm. It produced no excitement, and there were no responses except an occasional "Amen;" but when it closed a woman began to sing one of their revival hymns,

other voices joined, and in a moment it seemed to me that everybody in the church, except myself, was either singing or shouting; and so magnetic was the excitement that it was with great difficulty that I kept down the disposition to shout with them. There was, of course, no more of real religion in this excitement than there was of real patriotism in the excitement of the Harrison campaign. There is this much to be said, however, in favor of such revivals: they brought into the Christian fold, where they were instructed as to the true nature of vital piety, thousands of people who might not have been otherwise reclaimed.

General Harrison was elected by an overwhelming majority. The campaign was an exciting one, but one-sided. The enthusiasm was all on the side of the Whigs. The country, as I have said, was then in great financial difficulties. The majority of the people were heavily in debt, with no means to pay. The only general currency in use was the notes of suspended banks, and these were steadily being called in. Gold and silver had disappeared from circulation. There was not enough of the latter even for change, and what were called "shinplasters" (fractional currency issued by States, companies or corporations, uncurrent, of course, except in the neighborhood of their issue, and in many cases worthless) became the necessary substitute for it. Credit was known only in name. The whole country seemed to be upon the verge of absolute bankruptcy.

While this was the unhappy condition of the people, the President was represented by stump orators as living in luxury, giving sumptuous dinners to his friends, with a service of silver plate and gold spoons. Relief was needed, and this relief was hoped for in a change of administration. This change was easily effected, but the depression continued and did not reach its lowest point until 1842. The election of General Harrison was barren of the hoped-for results. The ascendency of the Whig party was short-lived. Har-

rison died a few months after he became President. Tyler vetoed Mr. Clay's bank bill, and became alienated from his party, and at the next election, the Democratic party, which had been apparently buried so deep that its resurrection was impossible, again had the control of the Executive by the election of Mr. Polk, a comparatively undistinguished and unknown man, over Mr. Clay, who had been for years the leader of his party and the most personally popular man of his time.

The depression which prevailed from 1837 to 1843 cannot be understood by any who did not witness it. It was widespread and all-pervading. It affected all classes, but the greatest sufferers, next to the day laborers, were the farmers. Everything which the farmer had to sell had to be disposed of in barter or for currency at ruinous prices. I witnessed in 1841 a sale to a hotel-keeper in Indianapolis of oats at six cents a bushel, chickens at half a dollar a dozen, and eggs at three cents a dozen. Other farm products were proportionately low; two cents and a half a pound net for fat cattle and hogs was the ruling price at Cincinnati—at that time the great mart for beef and pork. These prices, so ruinous to farmers, would have been of advantage to consumers had they been merely the result of over-production, but this was not the case. Money was as scarce as prices were low. The dollar had great purchasing power, but the dollar was difficult to get. Capitalists (they were not very numerous in those days) felt the effect of it less than others, but even they were far from being happy, as they could find no safe and profitable use for their money. Day laborers were the severest sufferers, for wages declined more than the prices of the articles which they needed for their own support and the support of their families. Many were out of employment, and those that were employed were able only by the closest economy to keep the wolf from the door.

It is not difficult to discover the causes of the great finan-

cial troubles which have occurred in the United States. Those which commenced in 1837, and continued with steadily increasing severity until 1842, and from which there was no decided relief until 1844, were largely the result of the hostility of President Jackson to the Bank of the United States. In 1832 he vetoed the bill for its re-charter; in 1833, by his order, it ceased to be the fiscal agent of the Government. In anticipation of the winding up of this Bank, which had branches in most of the large cities, a great number of banks were organized in 1834 and 1835, under State laws, and some of them, which were known as "pet banks," whose notes were made receivable for customs and lands, the only sources of public revenue, were selected to be the depositaries of public moneys.

In the same year many of the States engaged in what were called works of internal improvement, for the construction of which bonds were issued from time to time and sold chiefly in Europe. In February, 1836, a bank under the name of the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States was chartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, to be the successor of the United States Bank and with the same capital. The result of these financial enterprises was a very large increase in the circulating medium and an expansion of credits, which led to investment in all kinds of property and to wild speculation. Within a period of one or two years cotton advanced from seven or eight cents a pound to fifteen and sixteen; wheat from a dollar a bushel to two dollars, and almost all other agricultural productions in the same ratio. The advance in the prices of cotton and wheat lands was still greater, and millions of acres of Government wild lands were bought for purely speculative purposes. Unfortunately, however, as is frequently the case in times of seeming prosperity, industry, and consequently production, declined, and in 1836 many articles of prime importance commanded exorbitant prices by reason of their actual scarcity. In July of that year the Government divorced

itself from the banks and issued what was called the Specie Circular, prohibiting the receipt of anything but gold or silver for public dues. This checked to some extent the rise of the tide of speculation, but it continued with diminished force until the spring of 1837 when, the current of exchange having turned against the United States, the banks in the sea-board cities were heavily drawn upon for coin, and on the 10th of May, 1837, the banks in New York were compelled to suspend specie payments. Those in the other cities and throughout the country suspended also as soon as the intelligence of the New York suspension reached them, and thus was commenced that protracted period of terrible depression to which I have referred, during which the accumulations of years were swept away and many States and most of the enterprising citizens of the country were forced into bankruptcy. The stay and appraisement laws which were enacted by State legislatures, instead of giving relief, aggravated the evils by the destruction of credit. No one who was not an observer of the troubles which then overwhelmed the country can have any conception of their extent and severity. Of all the cities, that great conservative city Philadelphia—which up to that time had been, by reason of its being the home of the United States Bank, the money centre of the Union—was the severest sufferer.

The second bill for the re-charter of that bank having been vetoed by the President, the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States, as I have said, was chartered by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. It went immediately into operation, as the successor in credit and business of that great institution which had done so much to benefit the country, and whose long and successful career was drawing to a close. Unfortunately its means were larger than could be used in legitimate banking, and its manager, the President, with a recklessness which seemed like infatuation, undertook to check the downward tendency of prices, chiefly of cotton, by enormous purchases.

Instead of accomplishing this object he ruined the bank. Its failure was most disastrous; its entire capital was sunk, and its many thousands of depositors, although ultimately paid, were for a time greatly distressed.

There was another bank which came to grief by having too much money. The Bank of Michigan, at Detroit, had for years been managed with great prudence, meriting the confidence which it enjoyed. It was one of the "pet banks," and a favorite. In January, 1836, I had some business to transact with it, and I called upon the president, Mr. Hastings, just after the adjournment of the board of directors. He was not in his usual good humor, and he explained the cause. "I have," he said, "been overruled by my directors. We owe the Government a million of dollars, and we have more than that in New York. I wanted to square the account and dissolve our connection with the Government. The directors did not agree with me. The idea of giving up the use of a million of dollars for which we were paying no interest seemed to them absurd. They instructed me to use the money in current business, and I must be governed by their instructions." The money was loaned when the speculative tide was at its height, and the bank went down in the general crush, hopelessly insolvent.

The veto of the bank bill by President Jackson was strongly disapproved by many of the wisest men of his party, but he was the idol of the Democratic masses, and resistance to his iron and misdirected will, even by those who claimed to be their leaders, was impotent. This veto was unquestionably the prime cause of the unparalleled financial troubles, the political effect of which was visited upon the unoffending head of his successor, Mr. Van Buren. That the United States Bank, managed, as it was during it sentire career, as a strictly business institution, was of immense utility to the country, is apparent to all who have made its history a careful study. It was useful in a very high degree, not only in what it did, but

in what it prevented. It furnished a bank-note currency of uniform value and perfect solvency; it fostered well-directed industry; it regulated exchanges; it created a high standard of mercantile and commercial credit. On the other hand, it stood in the way of the creation of State banks, with unreal capital, and held in check the disposition of its customers to engage in speculative enterprise.

What the United States needs to-day, and will need still more when the National Banking System shall cease to exist, is a national bank with capital enough to enable it to act as a regulator of the rates of interest, and consequently to a large extent of business. Such a bank is the Bank of England, which has been of incalculable benefit to Great Britain—a bank which, in its management, is outside of politics, and over which there are never any partisan squabbles; which is independent of the Crown, and practically of Parliament; which keeps its fingers on the business pulse of the country, and by its wise and prompt action contributes immensely to the stability and healthiness of trade.

CHAPTER VII.

Thomas Corwin—His Popular Oratory—Reply to General Crary of Michigan—Speech on the Mexican War—Robert C. Schenck—First Laurels won in Debate with John Brough—Appointed Minister to Brazil—Resumes the Practice of the Law—At the Outbreak of the Civil War gives up a Lucrative Practice and becomes a Soldier—Elected to Congress while in the Field—Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means—Appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain—Performs his Duties with Great Ability—His Connection with a Mining Company—Complies with the Request of a Distinguished Lady to describe a Game of Cards—Unjustly treated by the Press and by the Government.

SOON after I reached Indiana I heard a good deal about two men, with both of whom I became well acquainted in after years, of whom I cannot forbear to say a few words, Thomas Corwin and Robert C. Schenck, the former then a prominent member of Congress, the latter a rising young lawyer; both ardent Whigs and citizens of Ohio. Of Mr. Corwin it is not too much to say that in wit, in humor, in general knowledge, in a ready command of language, in voice, in mobility and expressiveness of features, in all the requisites for fascinating and effective stump oratory, he was without an equal.

Men would travel twenty or thirty miles to listen to the matchless orator, and even his political opponents could not help joining in the applause which his speeches never failed to call forth. His memory was not only a perfect storehouse of historical facts, but also of anecdotes and stories. It was worth a "Sabbath day's journey" to hear "Tom" Corwin (as he was familiarly called) tell a story. No matter how frequently heard, it was always made fresh and racy by his variable and inimitable manner of telling it. While to his extraordinary control of the muscles of his face, which were always in accord

with the sentiments he was expressing and the anecdotes he was relating, and to his charming voice the attractiveness of his speeches was in no small degree attributable, they were never lacking in eloquence or force. He had always something good to say, and he never failed to be instructive as well as fascinating. His power over popular and promiscuous assemblies was immense. Plain farmers would not only travel long distances to hear him, but they would stand for hours under a burning sun or in a pelting rain, seemingly oblivious of everything but the speeches by which their attention was absorbed.

Nor was his fame as an orator confined to Ohio. By his speeches in Congress he acquired a national reputation. Made upon subjects which have long ceased to be interesting, no one can read them now without feeling that they place him in the front rank of American orators. Two of them especially illustrated his peculiar powers—one delivered in the House in 1840, in reply to General Crary; the other in the Senate in 1847, upon the Mexican War; the former a masterpiece of wit and humor, the latter all aglow from the beginning to the end with patriotic eloquence.

General Crary, of Michigan, a gentleman of considerable ability, in a bitter partisan speech had criticised the military character of General Harrison, the Whig candidate for the Presidency, especially his generalship in the battle of Tippecanoe. In his off-hand reply to this speech Mr. Corwin gave free rein to the style in which he surpassed all men of his day. While he did not fail to vindicate Harrison's military capacity, as displayed in that battle, by apt references to the action of soldiers of acknowledged merit in somewhat similar circumstances, he overwhelmed his assailant with ridicule by showing what his opportunities had been for learning how battles should be fought. General Crary was a military general on a peace establishment. Taking advantage of this fact, Mr. Corwin described in his inimitable manner a Michigan militia

parade with General Crary as the commanding figure; the troops in motion with hoes, axe-handles and other deadly implements of war overshadowing the field; the general, with his gaudy epaulets gleaming in the sun, mounted upon a crop-eared, bushy-tailed mare, fourteen hands high, riding gallantly in front, displaying the beauty of his steed and his superior horsemanship; and when the parade was over satisfying the thirst which his glorious labor had created with watermelons which he slashed with his mighty sword and shared with his heroic men. I recollect no speech so provocative of hearty laughter as this speech of Mr. Corwin. His exaggerated but somewhat truthful description of a militia parade (general training, it was called) in the early days of the West, in the conduct of which General Crary was supposed to have acquired the knowledge that fitted him to criticise General Harrison's military character, was so absolutely funny that the House was convulsed with merriment, and Democrats as well as Whigs shouted as he went on until they were hoarse. To such a speech there could be no answer. General Crary subsided. He was never heard again in the House or in public in Michigan. "Slain by Corwin," was the return of the inquest over his political remains.

Mr. Corwin's speech upon the Mexican War was of an entirely different character. There was in it some of his usual humor, which he could never entirely restrain, no matter what subject he might be discussing, but it was especially remarkable for its very able exposition of the unjustifiableness of the war. It is a speech that excites the same emotion now which I felt when I read it nearly forty years ago; a speech full of eloquent appeal to the honor of the Senate, and of scathing denunciation of the action of the Executive in commencing an aggressive war, without the authority of Congress, upon a friendly but feeble nation for no other purpose than to obtain by force an extension of territory.

Mr. Corwin's reputation for patriotism can safely rest upon

that speech. It commanded the attention of the Senate as few speeches have ever done. It was heartily responded to by the Senators who were in sympathy with the orator, and was listened to attentively by those who were already committed to the war. It was extensively published, and read with delight by the many thousands to whom the national honor was dearer than military renown, but nevertheless it was a most unfortunate speech for Mr. Corwin in respect to his political career. It was made when the nation was engaged in war; when the people were exulting over the success of the national arms at Palo Alto and Monterey, under General Taylor, and just before General Scott commenced his triumphant march from the Gulf to the Mexican capital; when thousands of young men were offering their services as volunteers; when the war spirit of the multitude was thoroughly aroused. For a Senator under such circumstances to oppose the war and advise the withdrawal of troops from Mexican territory, and for him to say, as Mr. Corwin did, that if he were a Mexican, "he would welcome the invaders with bloody hands to hospitable graves," was equivalent to signing with his own hands his political death-warrant. The unpopularity of this speech was deepened by the result of the war, which was soon after terminated by the capture of the City of Mexico.

It was a very gainful war to the United States. California and New Mexico became ours virtually by conquest, although these vast territories were not ceded by Mexico until the following year, when, by the treaty of Guadaloupe, she released all claim upon them on the agreement of the United States to pay for them fifteen millions of dollars—a hundred times less than they were really worth. It is a hazardous thing for a man who is in public life, or who expects to enter into it, to oppose a war, no matter how unjust he may consider it, in which his country is already engaged. Very few have done so in any country without being driven politically to the wall. Men are by nature fond of war, and this natural fondness is

vastly strengthened by the glory which always waits upon successful warriors. It is not the civilian, no matter how important may have been his discoveries, or valuable his services to his country and the world, but the war-chief, however despicable his character, who receives the adulation of the multitude and occupies a distinguished place in history. No one understood this better than did Mr. Corwin when he made his celebrated anti-war speech; but he was one of the very few men who openly avow their sentiments without counting the cost to their own popularity. All honor to those who, few in numbers but grand in character, cling to their convictions of honor and duty, however strong may be the popular tide which they encounter!

Mr. Schenck was in many respects very different from Mr. Corwin—superior in some, inferior in others. He had more of what might be called intellectual grip; a stronger hold upon the subject he was discussing; more consecutiveness in argument, and more terseness in expression than Mr. Corwin; but he lacked the wit and humor which made Mr. Corwin's speeches so fascinating, the fervid eloquence which rendered them so overpowering. He won his first laurels in an encounter with John Brough, the Boanerges of the Democratic party, the champion advocate of its principles in Ohio. Mr. Brough was then in the meridian of life. In mental vigor, in acuteness and skill in debate and in strength of voice, he greatly resembled Mr. Douglas. So formidable was he in debate, and so high was his reputation as a speaker, that very few Whigs were bold enough to meet him upon the stump. It was with him that Mr. Schenck, then but a boy in appearance, and not much beyond boyhood in years, had his first political encounter. That so young a man, so inexperienced in debate, should willingly meet the victor upon scores of intellectual battle-field, seemed to savor rather of recklessness than of courage; but so skilfully did he use his weapons, so fearless did he prove himself to be in attack, and so prompt and ready

in defence, that if he was not the acknowledged victor, he forced his opponent to admit that he had met a foeman worthy of his steel. From that time Mr. Schenck was one of the most prominent Whigs of Ohio. He was elected to Congress in 1842, and he represented his district with acknowledged ability for eight years, when he was appointed Minister to Brazil.

On his return to Ohio he resumed the practice of law which, had he been governed by his pecuniary interests, he would never have abandoned. At the outbreak of the civil war he manifested his patriotism by giving up a lucrative practice and entering the field as a soldier. He was wounded in the second Bull Run battle, but he did not resign his command. Yielding, however, to the pressure of those who knew how much he was needed in Congress, he suffered his name to be used for a seat in the House, and so high was his reputation that while still in the field he was triumphantly elected in a strong Democratic district. As Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, in which position he succeeded Thaddeus Stevens, he exhibited rare ability in preparing and carrying through Congress various financial and economical bills upon which the safety of the Government and the maintenance of its credit depended. It is generally admitted that no man has ever discharged the duties of that difficult position with more tact and ability.

In 1871 General Schenck was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, for which place he was eminently fitted except in a single respect. He had given many of the best years of his life to his country's service and been impoverished by it. The Government of the United States, to its shame be it said, is the only government that sends men to represent it at expensive courts without supplying them with the means to live handsomely. No man who has not a private fortune to draw upon should be appointed minister to any of the leading courts of Europe. Foreign missions should

either be discontinued, or adequate provision should be made for their honorable support. The appointment of Mr. Schenck was heartily approved by all who knew him. No one ever sent on that important mission was ever more warmly endorsed by the press than he was.

There were very difficult questions then pending between the United States and Great Britain, upon the proper solution of which amicable relations between the two countries depended. It was, therefore, of the last importance that our representative should be thoroughly equipped for the discharge of his duties, in order that peace might be preserved while the honor of his country should be in no wise impaired. To properly represent his country under such circumstances General Schenck was eminently fitted; nor did he fail in any respect to justify his appointment. Less courtly than Mr. Motley, less eloquent than Mr. Lowell, and less scholarly than either, he was their superior in aptitude for business, their equal in diplomatic skill. That he performed the very important duties which were devolved upon him with marked ability is undeniable.

I was living in London during the entire period of his mission, and I speak advisedly when I say that he commanded in a high degree the respect of the British Government. Notwithstanding all this he returned to the United States with a cloud upon his reputation. At the solicitation of a friend he permitted his name to be used in the prospectus of a mining company, and became one of its directors. This was unquestionably an error on his part, but it was not a serious one, nor did the Executive of the United States so regard it. He had good reason to suppose that the mine was a valuable one. If there was fraud in the representation of it in the prospectus, he was not a party to it or cognizant of it. But this was not all. He was frequently the guest of a lady so distinguished that it was an honor to any one to be invited to her house. On one occasion the merits of the differ-

ent games in which cards were used was a subject of conversation, in the course of which General Schenck mentioned poker, a game then quite unknown in London. His hostess became interested in his description of it, and requested him to write it out for her. He could not decline to comply with her request, and she had his description of the game printed for her own use and the use of her friends only. Hence the name of the United States Minister became connected with the game of poker. The story soon took wings that he was a poker player, and was instructing the card players of London in the mysteries of the game. This story was at once seized upon by the journals that had already opened their batteries upon him for his connection with a mining company, and made the text of unparalleled abuse.

I know nothing about the game, but its name is not a pleasant one. It carries with it obloquy which attaches to no other game, and the association of the name of the United States Minister with it was regarded as casting dishonor upon the Government which he represented. Never was a public man so violently denounced as he was for what, after all, was a mere act of courtesy to a distinguished lady. The varied and valuable services which he had rendered—such services as in other countries are recognized by liberal and substantial rewards—went for naught. The very journals that had in the strongest terms endorsed his appointment became his vindictive assailants. Very few of our public men have served their country so honorably and unselfishly as General Schenck; none has been so unfairly treated.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ride to Indianapolis—The City as it then was—Its First Settlers—Nicholas McCarty, James Blake, Samuel Merrill, Harvey Bates, Calvin Fletcher, James M'Ray, John Coburn, Dr. Coe—Some of the Prominent Men of the State—Oliver P. Morton—Thomas A. Hendricks—Daniel W. Voorhees—The Methodists—Armstrong, Bascom, Durbin, Simpson.

IN the latter part of May, in the company of Mr. Sullivan and two or three other lawyers, I went to Indianapolis, the capital of the State. The journey was made in a strong spring wagon, called a stage-coach, and such was the condition of the road that it required two full days to complete it. Upon our arrival at the only tavern in the place, we received the sad intelligence that Mr. Houck was dying from a violent attack of bilious colic, caused by his having eaten heartily of cherries not fully ripened. He died a few hours after. His death was a severe shock to the judges of the Supreme Court, which was then in session, and to the members of the bar, of which he was one of the chief ornaments. I have already referred to the touching and eloquent eulogy pronounced over his remains by his friend Mr. Dewey.

The day following his funeral I was examined by the judges of the Supreme Court, and licensed to practice law in all the courts of the State. The question then to be decided was whether I should settle in Indianapolis or seek a home somewhere else. Indianapolis had been made the seat of the State Government in 1821, but was not occupied as such until 1825. It had been selected for the capital, not because there was anything attractive in the situation, but because it was near the geographical centre of the State. Its site was upon the eastern bank of White River, in the heart of a magnificent

forest, but on what seemed to be a perfectly level plain. It had been laid off by the surveyors on a magnificent scale, with rectangular streets ninety feet, and avenues radiating from the centre one hundred and twenty feet in width. Ample provision had been made for parks to enclose the public buildings, and the plan of the city upon paper was attractive and artistic, but upon paper only. Little resemblance, indeed, did the place itself bear to the plat. The parks, in which were the State House, just then completed, and the court-house, had been enclosed with post and rail fences, but nothing had been done to the streets except to remove the stumps from two or three of those most used. All of the noble old trees—walnuts, oaks, poplars, the like of which will never be seen again—had been cut down, and around the parks young locust and other inferior but rapidly growing trees had been set out. There were no sidewalks, and the streets most in use, after every rain, and for a good part of the year, were knee-deep with mud.

As a director of the State Bank, I was under the necessity for many years of making quarterly trips on horseback from Fort Wayne to Indianapolis through a country almost impassable by carriages of any kind, and yet I never encountered mud deeper or more tenacious than in the streets of the capital of the State. I have seen many of the incipient towns of the West, but none so utterly forlorn as Indianapolis appeared to me in the spring of 1833. It had no local advantages except the fact that it was surrounded by a very fertile country; nothing to recommend it but its being the metropolis of the State. There were then only two bridges in Indiana, and these had been built by the United States in anticipation of the extension from Richmond to Terre Haute of the national road, which extension was prevented by the veto of President Jackson, which I referred to in what I said about one of Mr. Webster's speeches in Faneuil Hall. Upon none of the roads were wagons in use, even for carrying the mails, except those from Madison and Terre Haute to the capital.

From all other points it could only be reached by those who travelled on foot or on horseback. No one who saw Indianapolis when I saw it for the first time could have anticipated its rapid growth and present condition. No one could have dreamed that in half a century this almost inaccessible village would become a great railroad centre, with large and varied manufactures, a population of a hundred thousand souls, one of the best built and most populous cities in the Union not situated upon navigable waters. The engineers who surveyed it and platted it were wiser than their critics. The plat which then seemed so preposterous in the extent of ground which it covered, has been again and again extended by additions to meet the wants of its constantly increasing population. Instead of being inaccessible, there are now few counties in the State which are not connected with it by railroads, and hundreds of trains are daily arriving at it or passing through it. Then, three or four days of hard horseback riding were required for the inhabitants of the remote counties to reach the capital; now they reach it by railroads in as many hours.

Indianapolis was fortunate in the character of its early settlers. Such men as Nicholas McCarty, James Blake, Samuel Merrill, Harvey Bates, Calvin Fletcher, James M'Ray, John Coburn and Dr. Coe are rarely found in any place. Their superiors in intelligence, in enterprise and moral worth can be found nowhere. What was true in regard to the early settlers of Indianapolis was also true of those in many other Indiana towns. Nor have their successors been degenerate. No State has been more prolific of superior men than Indiana; few have been as well represented in Congress. Of two or three of them whom I knew well, who came to the front after I became a resident of the State, I cannot forbear to speak.

Few of our public men have won a higher or wider reputation than Oliver P. Morton. As Governor of a State during

the civil war, in untiring industry, in energy and in devotion to the Government he found a rival only in Governor Andrew of Massachusetts. By his efficiency in forming and preparing for the field the numerous regiments which Indiana contributed for the preservation of the Union, he was known as the War Governor, the great War Governor of the West. As a United States Senator (my impression is that he was never a member of any other legislative assembly) he stood in the front ranks. Clear, logical, incisive, he soon added to the reputation he had acquired as an executive officer the reputation of a ready and vigorous speaker. Disabled for a long time by physical infirmity from standing upon his feet, his mental vigor was unabated, and the speeches which he read while sitting in his chair always commanded the attention as they did the respect of the Senate.

Thomas A. Hendricks served four years in the United States House of Representatives, and although one of the youngest members (he had just completed his thirtieth year when he was first elected) he soon became a prominent member. As a United States Senator from 1863 to 1869 he more than maintained the high reputation which he had secured in the House. Pure in character, faithful to duty, courteous in manners, he was highly respected even by the Senators from whom in politics he radically differed. Upon the stump he did not excite the enthusiasm of the crowd, nor did he attempt it. His aim was to convince and to win. Intelligible, earnest, sincere, he rarely failed to impress his own convictions on those who listened to him. Without being an orator, he was one of the most effective speakers of the day. As a lawyer he stood high, both as counsellor and advocate. His two nominations for Vice-President were evidences of the hold which he had upon the confidence and respect of his party. Fortunate was it for the Democracy that his name was upon the ticket with President Cleveland, as it was his great popularity that insured its success in Indiana and strengthened it in

other States. His death was a severe loss, not only to his political friends, but to the whole country.

Daniel W. Voorhees is a born orator. He could speak eloquently before he could speak correctly. In the Senate he does not speak often, but always to the point, and rarely to seats which are not filled. Upon the stump he has few equals and no superiors. Of a commanding figure, copious in language without being verbose, with a clear ringing voice that can be heard distinctly by the largest assembly, even in the open air, and a perfectly natural and easy delivery, he is a popular orator of the highest grade. As a lawyer he may not be ranked among the highest, but as an advocate, especially in important criminal cases, where his sympathy has full play and successful defence depends more upon skilful management and the humane feelings of the jurors than upon the weight of evidence, it would be difficult to find his peer. He is one of Indiana's favorite and most highly and justly honored sons.

Nor, in these reminiscences of the early days of the West, can I refrain from speaking briefly of the impression which was made upon me by the Methodists of this pioneer period. A Methodist Conference is one of the most despotic assemblies in the world. It is the Conference that decides where a preacher shall go and how long he shall stay at the place to which he has been appointed, without regard to his pleasure or the wishes of the churches. From this decision there is no appeal, and against it no complaint is ever uttered. In this respect its discipline is as perfect as that of Rome. If promotion is not always the reward of merit, it is the result of the best judgment of the Conference, and this judgment is rarely at fault and never revoked. It is the most powerful ecclesiastical organization in the United States except the Catholic, and its strength and cohesion are very largely attributable to the centralized authority in the Conference. By the general spread of free thought and the increase of education among its

clergy and laity, it has, like the Catholic Church, lost some of its spiritual power and sectarianism, but it still holds fast to the theology which was taught by its founders. Upon the great popular questions of the day the Methodists are more united than any other Protestant denomination. While outside of theological doctrines freedom of opinion nominally prevails, there is not often much diversity of opinion among them on political questions, except so far as diversity is caused by sectional feeling. Until the question of slavery became a political question a large majority of the Methodists were Democrats, and such they continued to be until the church was rent in twain by the slavery question. Then the Methodists of the South continued to be Democrats, while those of the North naturally affiliated with the anti-slavery men of their own section. During the civil war the Methodists of the North stood manfully by the Government, and after the war they became Republicans. The Southern Methodists sustained the Confederacy, and on many battle-fields Northern and Southern Methodists met each other in deadly strife. Religious sentiment, strong as it may be, cannot stand against national or patriotic feeling when thoroughly aroused. We had an illustration of this in the late Franco-German war, in which the Catholics of Bavaria were united with the Protestants of Prussia against Catholic France. Germany, divided as it was into different kingdoms and of a different religious faith, was still the fatherland of the Germans, and in their devotion to it the antagonisms of faith were for the time buried. In saying that the Northern Methodists before the war were Democrats and that they are now Republicans, I do not mean that there were and are no exceptions. What I do mean is, that as a body they were and are politically united, as was and is the case with no other Christian denomination except the Catholic.

Among the Methodist clergy in the early days of the West there were a few very eminent men, of whom the most promi-

nent were Armstrong, whose field of labor covered a region which is now the home of millions of people, and who would have been distinguished for his ability and acquirements in the most highly cultivated community; Bascom, whom Henry Clay described as being the most eloquent man he had ever heard in the pulpit or elsewhere; Durbin, a man of not only large literary but scientific attainments. I was much impressed by one of Mr. Durbin's published sermons from the text, "We are fearfully and wonderfully made," in which he presented, in a manner which would have done honor to one who had made the human form a life-long study, an argument in favor of Divine creative power, as illustrated in man's physical mechanism. One who listened to that sermon said to me that as Mr. Durbin, with the finger of his right hand upon his left wrist, described the regular but intermittent flow of the blood through the system by the action of the heart, he could feel the beating of his own heart as though he had within him a steam engine. Mr. Simpson, afterwards Bishop Simpson, was then just beginning to exhibit his wonderful power as a pulpit orator. He has recently gone to his reward, but he has left behind him undying fame as a preacher, and a reputation for unsullied virtue, to be treasured up as a precious legacy by the great church of which he was a brilliant ornament.

While the Church could point to such men as its members (they were few in numbers and seem not to be increasing), the circuit riders were, as a class, uneducated men who made up in industry and zeal what they lacked in culture. There was no settlement in the broad West, however isolated and remote, where they were not found. Ever in the van, pioneers in fact of the onward wave of civilization, regardless of their personal comfort, perfectly at home in the cabins of the first settlers or the wigwams of the Indians, they exemplified in their lives the self-denial and self-sacrifice which were enjoined upon His followers by their Divine Master. Ignorant of books, they were adepts in the study of human nature. By constant

practice they became fluent speakers; some of them orators. Dauntless, zealous, well nigh homeless, with no expectation or hope of reward in this life, they combined, as did the early Jesuits, the heroism of crusaders with the fortitude of martyrs.

CHAPTER IX.

By the Advice of General Howard, I go Northward—Eagle Village—First Night in a Cabin—Its Occupants—Ten-mile Ride to Breakfast—The Village of Frankfort—Military Company in Training—Delphi—The Wabash—Adventure with a Rattlesnake—Logansport—Lewis Cass—John Tipton—South Bend—Charles Crocker—Samuel C. Sample—Rolling Prairie—Laporte—First Sitting there of the Circuit Court—The Court-room—Resolve to go to Fort Wayne—Goshen—J. L. Jernegan—Fort Wayne, its Situation and Appearance—Rapid Growth of the Country.

HAD I not (fortunately, as it turned out,) met General Howard, the United States District Attorney for the State, I should have made my home in one of the southern counties of Indiana. I had been advised to do so by Mr. Dewey, and had concluded to follow his advice, when, accidentally meeting General Howard, I was asked by him whether I intended to remain in Indianapolis or to drive my stakes in some other part of the State. I told him what advice I had received, and that I had about made up my mind to follow it. "Don't do it," said he. "There are some nice fellows in the southern counties, but the people generally have come from Kentucky, Tennessee, or the Carolinas; they are good enough people in their way, but having been raised in the States in which slavery exists, they are not enterprising; their ways are not your ways: you would not like them. Go north." "But," replied I, "northern Indiana is mostly a wilderness; what in the world could a young lawyer find to do there?" "No matter if it is a wilderness," said he; "it will not long be a wilderness. It is," he continued, "the most inviting country I have ever seen, and it will soon be filled by people from New York and New England—the right kind of people to develop it. There is Lake Michigan on its northern boundary, and a canal is being built which will unite the Wabash with Lake Erie. I charge

nothing for it, but my advice to you is, look at least at the northern part of the State before settling down anywhere else." I thought the matter over, and concluded that I would, at all events, see the country that General Howard thought so highly of before taking a step that was likely to be so important to me.

The next morning, therefore, I bought a horse, saddle and bridle, exchanged my trunk for a pair of saddle-bags, and after dinner I was on my way to the north. As I was quite unaccustomed to the saddle, I thought I would make my first day's ride an easy one, and spend the night at a place called Eagle Village, which was said to be about eighteen miles from Indianapolis. Fresh from New England, I supposed that nothing would be called a village that did not contain at least a church, a school-house, a tavern, and a few dwelling-houses. In this I was soon to be disappointed, and I had not been long in the West before I discovered that there could be cities in which there were no people, which only existed upon paper and in the lands selected for their sites. Some of them have become cities in fact; others exist only in their recorded plats, the land upon which they were laid off having been converted into farms. The Michigan road, through which in after years I had many a hard ride with the mud so deep that fifteen or twenty miles were a good day's journey, was made from Indianapolis to Lake Michigan by the proceeds of the sales of lands granted to the State by the Miami tribe of Indians, who were in possession of a considerable part of the territory through which it ran. Upon entering upon it that afternoon, I perceived that nothing had been done to make it a road except to open a way through the forest. It was perfectly straight, and the noble trees, nearly a hundred feet in height, stood on either side of it like a protecting wall. The birds were singing blithely, and although my horse was my only companion, the wildness and novelty of the scene acted upon me like a tonic. Long, long years have intervened; a long and busy life is nearly ended, and yet the exhil-

aration which I experienced as I rode through that magnificent forest comes back to me as freshly as if it were but yesterday.

The sun was just going down when I met a man on foot of whom I inquired how far it was to Eagle Village. "Why stranger," he replied, "I reckon you are in it now." On the left-hand side of the road in a clearing of some fifteen or twenty acres, there was a single cabin built of logs and chinked with clay, and near it what was intended for a stable, built likewise of logs, but of smaller ones laid one upon another without chinking, so that it afforded but little shelter from the weather. "Do you call this a village?" "I don't call it anything, but that's what they call it here," was the reply. This, then, was Eagle Village, and the cabin, the tavern in which I was to spend the night. "How far to the next house?" was my next question. Taking off his hat and scratching his head, the traveller hesitated for some time, as if he were calculating the distance he had walked, and then replied, "About ten miles, as near as I can jedge." Ten miles was too far for me to ride at night, so I thanked the traveller for his kindness and rode up to the door of the cabin, where I was met by a well-grown girl whose reddish jeans gown covered her from her neck to a little below her knees, when the following dialogue took place:

"Can I stay here for the night, my girl?"

"I ain't your girl that I knows of, but we sometimes keeps strangers, and I reckon you can stay here if you like."

"Is there anybody to take care of my horse?"

"No, sir; the rest of the folks are out in the clearing."

"Have you any corn or oats?"

"No, sir; we don't keep any of them things yet. We are new-comers here, but you will find some fodder in the loft," pointing to the stable. So to the stable I went, took the saddle from my horse, freed his mouth from the bit, tied him as best I could with the rein, and climbed up to the loft by the open logs, where I found the fodder—cornstalks blackened and mouldy by exposure to the weather. It was poor fare for my

horse, but his exercise had given to him, as it had to his master, a good appetite, and he took hold of the fodder with a relish that surprised me. As there was no currycomb, nor even straw to rub him down with, I used some of the fodder instead. His grooming that evening was decidedly imperfect. Having thus taken care of my horse, I entered the cabin. It consisted of a single but good-sized room, with a large fireplace, the chimney for which was on the outside. The walls had been whitewashed, and were adorned with female wearing apparel instead of pictures. Two large beds at the sides of the room and a small cot in a corner, a half-dozen splint-bottomed chairs, a bureau with a ten-by-twelve family looking-glass hanging over it, constituted the furniture of the room. Outside of the cabin there was a small shed in which was a cooking-stove. It did not take me long to make a survey of the premises, and I had not long to wait before the " rest of the folks " began to make their appearance. First came the father, a tall raw-boned man with a face bronzed by exposure, but expressive of self-satisfaction and good humor, who shook my hand warmly and bade me welcome. Next sauntered in a couple of lusty little boys; then three girls, the youngest about sixteen and the oldest twenty-one, all dressed like their sister, but with skirts a little longer. They were sunburnt, but not bad looking. Last came the mother, prematurely old, with that woebegone expression which I noticed upon the faces of most of the wives and mothers whom I met in my subsequent travels through the West. It is they who feel most severely the labors and privations of frontier life. Their work is never intermittent. With no help until their children are old enough to help them, without proper medical attendance when ill, with a great deal to annoy and very little to encourage them, they are old before they have reached middle age. Fortunate was it for Ohio and Indiana that their forest lands were opened, and to a considerable extent cultivated, before much was known about the prairies further west.

There is, it is true, very little enticing about the prairies; beautiful in the spring, in the later summer months and in autumn they are scorched by the sun; in winter cold, bleak, cheerless. Still, as only the plough and harrow are needed to bring the prairie lands under cultivation, and their soil is as rich as that of the timber lands, although perhaps less durable and less fitted for a variety of crops, they afford great advantages to the first settlers. If they had been known a little earlier, a great many of what are now the best farms in the States I have named might not have existed.

My first meal in a cabin was not attractive. It consisted of corn dodgers, fried pork, and something they called tea, which I should never have supposed to be tea by its taste; but I was full of health and hungry, and rather enjoyed the fare, coarse as it was. After supper I had a talk with the head of the household on a bench outside the cabin, in the course of which, among other things, I learned that he was a native of North Carolina, and that after marrying he had started with his wife for Western Pennsylvania. He was not inclined to stop in Virginia. He had had, he said, enough of a slave State, where a poor white man was not considered as good as a black one. He remained in Pennsylvania five or six years, until the people became too thick for game, when he moved to Ohio, spent some years in the eastern part of the State, as many more in the western, and thence he had come to Indiana. "I have been," said he, "a kinder rolling stone, but I am a good deal better off than I was when I started. I own eighty acres of good land, twenty acres cleared; a yoke of oxen, a mule, a cart and some farming tools, and besides as good a rifle as you ever laid eyes on. And then," continued he, "we have all the time been peopling the earth, as the Bible says we ought to. We have eight children; two of the boys have gone to work in the city, and I reckon that the old woman is good for two or three more. It has been pretty hard for *her*, but I," said he, straightening himself up, "am as hearty as a buck. I sha'n't

stay here long if I find anybody to buy me out. You see, stranger, I am what they call a pierneer, and pierneers oughtn't to stay long in the same place." Here our talk was interrupted by an announcement from one of the girls that it was bed-time. Upon going in I perceived that trundle-beds had been rolled out from under the large beds, and that the floor was pretty well covered by the sleeping arrangements. Pointing to the small cot in the corner, my host merely said, "Stranger, that's yourn," and blew out the candle so that I could not see, if I had been inquisitive, how the women disposed of themselves. I recollect only that in an incredibly short time the room was as still as if nobody was in it. My bed was a hard one (I could not see whether it was clean or dirty), but novel as the circumstances were, I slept soundly. In the morning, just as the light began to stream through the windows, I was awakened by the moving back of the trundle-beds, and I was soon left to dress by myself. Upon the bench on which I sat in the evening there was a tin basin, by it a bucket of pure spring water (a true pioneer never drives his stakes where there is not a spring), and hanging upon a nail in one of the logs a coarse but clean towel. Having washed, paid my bill (fifty cents), shaken hands with my host, who wished me well, I mounted my horse, which had been brought to the door, and made my best bow to the girls, who came to the door to see me off. Such was my first experience in a log cabin. I relate it because it was a type of subsequent ones.

The rays of the risen sun were just touching the tops of the tallest trees as I started. The air was cool and invigorating, and my ten-mile ride to breakfast, enlivened as it was by the singing of the birds, with which the trees seemed to be alive, was an exceedingly pleasant one. There is nothing which gives one a keener appetite than a ten-mile ride to breakfast. The house at which I stopped was quite pretentious, two stories high and of hewn logs, with a sign over the door, "Entertainment for Man and Beast." My breakfast was

a good one: ham and eggs, cakes with maple molasses, and excellent coffee. My horse fared equally well, for here he had hay and corn instead of fodder. My bill was thirty-seven cents. Cheap travelling, thought I, as I rode on again along the wide opening through the forest. For dinner, I stopped at Kirk's, a tavern well known for many years after for its good fare. This proved to be the end of the cut-out Michigan road; so, after receiving directions from Mr. Kirk, I turned to the left, and early in the afternoon I reached Frankfort, one of the towns which were just coming into existence in that part of Indiana. Before I came in sight of the town, I heard the inspiring sound of a fife and drum, and as I rode in I perceived that a company of thirty or forty backwoodsmen were going through a military drill. Hardy looking men they were; many of them doubtless proved good fighters in the Mexican war, but the oddity of their appearance who could describe? I was reminded of this training when I read Mr. Corwin's speech describing the regiment in Michigan, to which I have already referred. A few of the men had rifles, but the most of them carried sticks instead of guns. The captain wore a uniform which had seen better days and had evidently been made for a smaller man. His trousers did not come to his shoes by three or four inches, and the cuffs of his coat did not reach his hands by about the same distance. He had epaulettes upon his shoulders and a glistening blade in his hand, which he waved in the air as he gave the word of command, and the scabbard of which dangled between his legs as he strode before his company. Of the rank and file, not one was in uniform, and no two of them were dressed alike.

As soon as I was observed—"Look there, boss!" called out one of the men to the captain; "there comes a stranger; let's have a drink." The captain was not averse to the proposition. The company was dismissed. Whiskey was cheap, and I stood the treat. "He looks kinder stuck up," said one in an undertone, "but he is a d——d good fellow, anyhow." The whiskey

produced good feeling in the motley crowd, and I was for once the hero of the hour. So much for whiskey. The next morning bright and early I was on my way to Delphi—which was to be my next stopping place—over the country road that had been used by wagons, but how wagons could be hauled over it in rainy seasons I could not imagine. It ran through sloughs which must have been at times bottomless, and over brooks (creeks they are always called in the West), too deep to be forded after heavy rains, but it was a good road for a horseman, and I reached Delphi early in the afternoon. Delphi has since become a town of considerable importance, but then it was about as ugly and unpromising as a town could be. The next day's ride took me to Logansport; a rather long ride it was, but a charming one. Avoiding the wagon road, I followed an Indian trail that led along the banks of the Wabash, which had not then been deprived of any of their natural beauty by either freshets or the axe of the settler. The river was bank-full. Its water was clear, and as it sparkled in the sunlight or reflected the branches of the trees which hung over it, I thought it was more beautiful than even the Ohio. It was flowing on just as it had been for ages, undisturbed by anything but the canoe of the Indian. In imagination it is before me now, not picturesque, but charming in its quiet beauty.

I saw neither man nor beast in my long day's ride, and met with no adventure, unless the killing of a rattlesnake might be called one. Riding briskly along in the afternoon, I heard something which sounded like the chirping of a locust, and looking ahead I saw, at a short distance before me, a large snake leisurely moving across the path. As I approached him he coiled himself up, and with his eyes flashing and his rattles sounding, he seemed to be daring me to come on. As the path was not wide enough to allow my horse to pass without danger of being struck by the venomous reptile, I was compelled either to turn back or to contend for the right of way.

I was in a dilemma: I could not go back, I dared not go on; but, as my good luck would have it, upon looking around I saw supported by a tree a pole resembling a fishing-rod about an inch in thickness and ten or eleven feet in length, which I seized and advanced to the encounter. The reptile, probably not understanding the advantage I had gained, held his ground, and with his head and tail slightly raised seemed to be waiting for me to come within his striking distance. I urged my horse forward by the free use of the spur (he did not like the appearance of the enemy any better than I did), until I was near enough to strike. One blow from my pole untwined his coils, and that followed by another and another made me master of the field. The snake was some four or five feet in length, with a brown back and yellow belly, the largest I have ever seen, and the only one which I have known to invite an attack. Game was he, and fatal would have been his bite if he could have struck me or my horse. It was not a brave feat that I had performed, for I have to confess that I was afraid to dismount and meet my enemy on equal ground, but it seemed to me to be something of an exploit to kill a rattlesnake.

Logansport is situated in the triangle formed by the junction of Little River with the Wabash. Hon. John Tipton, one of the early United States Senators from Indiana, was its proprietor. He had been for many years an Indian agent. Perhaps he held the same office when I first met him. It was charged, unjustly perhaps, that he secured his seat in the Senate by the skilful use of the patronage of his agency with some of the leading members of the State Legislature. Even in those days the power of official patronage was well understood, and there were no public offices in the West in which so much power was lodged as in Indian agencies. As it would have been difficult to find an honest Indian trader, so also there were very few officials who did not make their offices subservient to their personal interests. There was, however, one con-

spicuous exception. Lewis Cass held the office of General Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Michigan for many years. During that period he negotiated a score of treaties with Indian tribes by which he might have enriched himself and his friends, but so uprightly did he administer his trust that no stain ever rested upon his reputation. I did not have the honor of an intimate acquaintance with him, but I knew him well enough to entertain for him the highest respect. Of the distinguished men of his day I can think of few, if any, more deserving of high honor than General Cass. As a soldier, Secretary of War, Minister to France, Senator, Secretary of State, he exhibited qualities of a very high character—learning, executive ability, diplomatic skill, graceful oratory, statesmanship. He failed in his highest ambition, as did his compeers, Clay and Webster, but his failure neither soured his temper nor weakened his zeal in his country's service. Disgusted by the cowardice or treachery of Hull, under whom he served in the war of 1812 with Great Britain, he broke his sword rather than surrender it. Nearly fifty years after he resigned the office of Secretary of State, to avoid being in any way responsible for the hesitating policy of his chief, Mr. Buchanan, which he was unable to direct. Fortunately for himself and his family, he had bought in 1815 a large farm near the village of Detroit. The village soon became a town and city, of which this farm became an important part. Detroit is now one of the most beautiful and prosperous cities in the Union. Thus, by the investment of a few thousand dollars, General Cass became a millionaire. I have thus briefly referred to him because he was one of my early acquaintances in the West, and because during his long life of almost continuous public service there is nothing in his record that will not stand the test of the severest scrutiny.

But to return to Logansport. It was selected by General Tipton for a town site on account of its water power, the improvement of which has contributed largely to its growth. It has become one of the flourishing towns of the State, the

centre of a large and rapidly increasing business. When I saw it in 1833 its population would have been numbered by scores instead of hundreds, Canadian French seemingly predominating. I remained here one day, spending an hour with General Tipton, who had recently removed from Fort Wayne, to whom I had a letter of introduction, and whom I found to be a man of intelligence and full of energy—one of those far-seeing, hardy men who led the van in the settlement of the West. In the course of my conversation I ventured to ask him if he would advise me in regard to a location. On this subject he was non-committal. "There are," said he, "two subjects upon which I never advise: matrimony, and the place to be selected for a home. These are so much matters of taste, that in regard to them every man must decide for himself. Keep your eyes open," said he, "and don't be in a hurry in deciding." From Logansport I went directly north to South Bend. North of the Wabash, the face of the country was quite different from that over which I had been travelling. Instead of the dense and almost impenetrable forest, the land was covered by large spreading trees, free from underbrush, so that a horseman could ride under their lofty branches as upon the open plain. These timber lands were called "oak openings." In the course of my ride, however, I passed over a wide belt in which walnut trees predominated over the oaks. This walnut belt extended east and west through the State. Walnut lumber was not then much used, and if it had been there were no facilities for taking it to market from the wilds of Indiana. Nearly all of these fine old trees, oaks as well as walnuts, have disappeared, the larger part having been used for fencing rails or burnt upon the ground. There are splendid farms where they stood, but to make them many thousands of walnut trees were destroyed, a single one of which, had it been left standing, would now be worth more than an acre of the cultivated land. This destruction of the forests is still going on in other parts of the United States, and unless means are used to prevent it

it will be continued, until within another generation the United States will be as destitute of forests as is France or Germany.

Between Logansport and South Bend there were but two cabins—one (the best I had seen) upon the Tippecanoe, the other about twenty miles further north, where I spent the night. At South Bend a court-house had been built, and near it there were a few log houses and a tavern. It has become a town of considerable importance. It can boast of having in it, or near it, the most extensive "wagon shops" in the world. Studabaker's wagons are well known throughout the West. So well established is their reputation that they command a higher price than equally good ones from any other factory. In speaking of South Bend, I am reminded that Charles Crocker, one of the millionaires of San Francisco, whose daughter's recent wedding was one of the most brilliant that has ever been witnessed in the United States, went from that town to California in 1849, reaching Sacramento in August, 1850. I did not know Mr. Crocker when he lived in Indiana, but I had the pleasure of meeting him in San Francisco in 1876, and hearing from his own lips a brief but interesting account of his journey over the plains with his family, in a covered wagon, drawn by two horses, of which he was the driver. His entire fortune then consisted of his horses and wagon, a couple of beds, some cooking utensils, and a few dollars in money. Samuel C. Sample, a Circuit judge, was then living in South Bend. His salary was but a thousand dollars a year, but he was economical, industrious and tasteful, and had been able to build a pretty little cottage and to beautify its surroundings with shrubs and rapidly growing trees. Mr. Crocker was a friend of Judge Sample, with whom, as he informed me, he spent an hour of the evening before he commenced his long and wearisome journey. "As I left the cottage," he said, "I could not help feeling envious of my friend, and I said to him, that if I were as well fixed as he was I should be content. On my way over the plains," he

continued, "I never stopped at night, dust-covered and weary, after a hard day's travel, without having the vision of that beautiful little cottage before me, and comparing my doleful condition with that of my friend Sample." It must indeed have been a trying journey, such as only a man of nerve would have undertaken, and a man of vigorous health could have endured. Mr. Crocker was not only brave and hardy, he was enterprising and far-seeing, sound in judgment and able in execution. He made money rapidly from the start in well-managed enterprises, and with Leland Stanford, C. P. Huntington and Mark Hopkins, he constructed the Central Pacific Railroad, the greatest enterprise of the time, by which he and his associates were made rich. In less than twenty years from the time he left South Bend Mr. Crocker had become prominent by his ability and enterprise, and able from his income alone to buy every year hundreds of such places as had excited his envy. Rarely indeed has there been such a contrast in any man's life as in that of Charles Crocker working his weary way over the plains, with all his possessions in his wagon, and Charles Crocker the great railroad builder, and twenty times over millionaire, of California.

The Circuit Court had just completed its session when I reached South Bend, and had adjourned to meet the day following at Laporte, the adjoining county on the west. So the next morning I turned my face westward, and soon came in sight of the first prairie I had seen. To my disgust it was low and swampy, looking more like one of the salt marshes of Maine than a prairie as described by travellers. It had been properly named the "wet prairie," but long since it has been drained and has proved to be more fertile than its higher and much more beautiful neighbor. Passing by this prairie and through a strip of woodland, my eyes were delighted by a picture so charming that the recollection of it remains indelibly stamped upon my memory. One who sees rolling prairie now can have no conception of its appearance

before it had been touched by the plough. It was about two miles in breadth, and ten or twelve in length. Its surface was undulating like the waves of the sea after a storm, and covered with luxuriant grass interspersed with wild flowers of every hue. Around and completely inclosing and seemingly protecting it stood the forest. I have seen since then many parks of great natural and artistic beauty, but none so charming as was the rolling prairie on that bright morning in June. A short distance beyond it, but separated by an arm of the forest, was Laporte prairie, larger but inferior in beauty, which received its name from the fact that on its western border there was an opening like a door in the forest which everywhere else inclosed it. Near the centre of the prairie, upon a charming little lake, was the county seat, Laporte. So new and so evidently temporary were its few buildings, that they seemed to have been "gotten up" for the accommodation of the court, which was to sit there for the first time. The court-house—so-called—was a long story-and-a-half structure, with a battened roof and sides of slabs, showing that there was a saw-mill in the vicinity. In one end was the court-room, in the other a tavern, and between them a grocery, dignified with the name of saloon, and over all were the sleeping-rooms. The court-room was simple and unique. The bench, elevated three or four feet, with a floor of unplaned boards, was supported by trestles, and upon it was a long table, behind which sat the judges. Below the bench was the bar; on one side seats for the jurors, and on the other for criminals. The half score of dwelling-houses near the court-house were of the same material and knocked together in the same manner. I had, it seemed, reached the point in Northern Indiana where boards were cheaper than logs. The county had been organized the winter before, and as court was sitting in it for the first time the docket was a light one—three or four civil suits and an indictment for assault and battery, all of which were speedily disposed of.

In those days the Indiana circuit courts were held by three judges—one the circuit or presiding judge appointed by the Governor with the consent of the Senate, who was supposed to be learned in the law; and two elected by the voters of the respective counties composing the judicial district, who were not lawyers, and whose function it was to bring common sense to bear upon legal questions. The circuit judge bore the name of Evarts (if a relative of the distinguished William M., he must have been a very distant one), who was more apt at story-telling than in deciding legal questions. The prosecuting attorney was quite famous for his fluent display of bad English, the worst I think that ever fell from mortal lips. He must have had, however, a good deal of push and endurance in his composition, for in 1848 he walked all the way to California, and reached Sacramento shoeless and hatless. There were two or three lawyers present who followed the court through the whole circuit and who would have stood high in any court. There were then in the Western States lawyers of established reputation who, as the saying was, "rode the circuit," and who were employed in important cases, and in many cases which were not important, by reason of the intricacies of the legal practice. Special pleading was then in full vogue. A lawyer who had not made "Chitty on Pleading" a careful study, was frequently bewildered by the pleas he had to meet in the simplest cases. The first suit which I commenced after I hung out my shingle at Fort Wayne was on a plain note of hand against which there was no real defence; but the maker of the note wanted more time than the holder was disposed to give him, so he employed a young attorney to stave off the payment, and the young attorney called to his assistance one of these circuit-riding lawyers. I recollect perfectly well how embarrassed I was when I found that I had to answer more than a dozen special pleas, and how mortified I was in being compelled to avail myself of the skill in special pleading of another of these travelling lawyers, in order to obtain a judgment on a promissory note.

This practice of circuit-riding by prominent lawyers then prevailed, and for some years after, throughout Indiana and Illinois, and to some extent in Ohio. Each judicial district embraced a large number of counties, and there were very few in which there was not enough business to justify the attendance of abler or more experienced lawyers than were usually found there. Some lawyers like Charles Dewey, Samuel C. Sample, John S. Newman of Indiana, and Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, frequently travelled on horseback hundreds of miles to be leading counsel in important suits. In these long journeys through sections but sparsely settled these circuit-riding lawyers were frequently under the necessity of stopping for the night at cabins lighted only by candles or by blazing wood in the ample fire-places, and, to while away the time, story-telling was resorted to, in which not only memory but imagination was brought into lively exercise. To be a good story-teller under such circumstances was a necessary qualification for agreeable companionship. To this practice is the country indebted for many of Mr. Lincoln's apt and original stories.

Laporte was a beautiful county, but the population was scanty, and I thought that if I remained there it would be a very long time before I could reasonably expect to have business enough to support me; so the next day after the adjournment of the court I concluded to accept a kind invitation which I had received from Dr. Lewis G. Thompson (whom I had met at South Bend), to visit Fort Wayne, of the outcome of which he had great expectations. Leaving Laporte, I rode eastwardly over a rich but unsettled country to Goshen, the county seat of Elkhart County, and thence, turning southward, I reached Fort Wayne three days after I left Laporte, having spent a part of one day in defending a man who was on trial for an alleged malicious trespass. An hour or two after I had registered my name in the tavern at Goshen, and told one of the inquisitive bystanders that I was a lawyer and on my way

to Fort Wayne, I received a note signed J. L. Jernigan, requesting me to call at the house of the writer some time during the evening. The house at which I called was made of logs with a single room, the furniture of which consisted of a bed, a table, three or four chairs and a cooking-stove. Mr. Jernigan was evidently quite ill. His only attendant was a good-looking and neatly dressed young woman, whom he introduced to me as his wife. After apologizing for asking me to come to his house, he informed me that a case in which he was attorney for the defendant, and which was a very important one for his client, was to be tried the next day; that he was likely to be too ill to leave his house, and that having just learned that I was in town and a lawyer, he had taken the liberty of sending for me to see if he could not induce me to take charge of the defence. He explained to me its nature, and seemed to be greatly relieved when I said to him that I would comply with his request and do the best I could for his client. This point having been settled, we talked about personal matters, and I learned that he and his wife were natives of Martha's Vineyard. "We are," said he, "starting in an humble way, but I guess we shall come out right;" and they did, as far as success in his profession was regarded. He was a ripe scholar and hard worker, and it was not long before he acquired high reputation as a lawyer in Indiana, which he sustained when, many years afterwards, he became a member of the New York Bar; but to the surprise of his friends, at the very summit of his professional career, he went to Europe, and when I last saw him he was living in Florence, manifesting no interest whatever in the affairs of his country or the welfare of his family. The case in which I appeared for the defence in the place of Mr. Jernigan was tried the next day. It was to me a novel proceeding—a jury trial before a justice of the peace. The evidence was decidedly against the defendant, but the sympathies of the jurors were in his favor, and to my great satisfaction their verdict was "Not guilty." My fee was small—(ten

dollars), but it was very acceptable in the low state of my finances.

Fort Wayne was about as uninviting in every respect except its site as any of the towns through which I had passed, but it proved to be the end of my journey, which had been long and solitary, but by no means lonesome or tedious. The country over which I had travelled was not picturesque; no hills to relieve its flatness, few streams to diversify the scenery. It was simply a magnificent wilderness, mostly covered with lofty trees of almost countless varieties. Nevertheless there was something in my long and solitary ride that prevented weariness and produced an exhilaration of spirits which I had never before experienced. "There is society where none intrudes," and there is more music in the singing of birds than in the roar of the sea. It was a country peculiarly adapted to the wants and habits of Indians. Its climate was mild, and it abounded with all kinds of game. It is not strange that in many cases force was required to remove from it these natives of the country, and that to them the prairie country (now Kansas and Nebraska) to which they and other tribes were removed seemed to be a desert. Little did I think as I rode mile after mile without seeing even a dot of civilization, and pondered the question, Where are the people to possess and cultivate this extensive wilderness to come from?—little did I think that before I had reached middle age, it would become the home of hundreds of thousands of enterprising and thrifty men; that wave after wave of immigration would sweep over it, to take possession of vast regions beyond, then unknown except by the name of the Northwestern Territory; that before I had become old the invading flood would move on over the great desert, over the Rocky Mountains and Sierras, and create upon the Pacific Ocean States rivalling in wealth and population many of their Atlantic sisters; that the Pacific Ocean would be the western boundary, as the Atlantic was the eastern boundary of the great republic; and what is

stranger still, that these oceans would be brought into proximity by lines of railway.

In recalling the geographical, commercial, and agricultural condition of the country west of the Alleghanies in 1833, and comparing that condition with what it now is, the changes that have taken place seem too strange to be real. Then Indiana was a frontier State; Michigan a territory embracing with imperfectly defined boundaries the extensive region which includes Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota and Southern Dakota. Then Kansas and Nebraska were only known as a country to which the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi could be removed in order that they might live without being molested by intrusive white men. Then Galena was the chief town in Illinois, Chicago little more than a hamlet. Then San Francisco was only visited by whale ships; the Columbia, a river whose deep waters had very rarely been disturbed by vessels of any kind from the time of its exploration by Lewis and Clark. Then scarcely a bushel of wheat or a barrel of flour from what is now the great grain-producing country of the world was sent to the Atlantic States or to Europe, which did not go by New Orleans. Then west of Pennsylvania railroads had not been contemplated. Then the labor-saving farming implements now in use, and without the aid of which millions of acres now under cultivation would have remained a wilderness, had not been invented. Then there were no mowers, no reapers, no threshers, all of which are now indispensable to profitable husbandry. East of the Alleghanies the geographical changes were unimportant, but the new life with which the world seemed to be infused with the incoming of the nineteenth century was showing itself there with equal vigor. Nearly all the great enterprises of every kind which have contributed so much to the comfort of the people, and added so enormously to the national wealth, have been undertaken since I left New England. Besides the great undertakings such as water-works, steamships, rolling-mills, tramways, telegraphs, telephones, etc.,

etc., what an immense variety of articles for family use have been devised! It is within this period that such indispensable articles as cooking ranges, furnaces, and even lucifer matches, have come into use. Indeed I can hardly think of anything now regarded as essential to national progress or domestic convenience and comfort which has not been the product of the last half century.

CHAPTER X.

Situation of Fort Wayne—French Catholic Priests—Anthony Wayne—Little Turtle—First Temperance Society in the United States—The Indians—Indian Agents—Passing Away of the Tribes—Samuel Hanna—Allan Hamilton—William G. and George W. Ewing—Charles W. Ewing—Samuel Lewis—Lewis G. Thompson—Jesse L. Williams—Robert Breckenridge—Marshal S. Wines—John Spencer—Francis Comparet—John B. Bourie—John B. Richardville.

IN 1833 Fort Wayne, as I have said, had little to recommend it but its site which, being an elevated plateau at the junction of the St. Joseph's and St. Mary's Rivers, which formed the Maumee, was commanding and picturesque. It was near the line which divides the waters which flow northeasterly to Lake Erie from those which flow southwesterly to the Gulf of Mexico, a few miles, called "the portage," separating the Maumee from the Wabash. The explorers of this section were French Catholic priests, who crossed the St. Clair Straits near Detroit, passed over the western end of Lake Erie, ascended the Maumee to its head, and having had their canoes carried by friendly Indians over the portage, descended the Wabash to the Ohio, and thence by the Ohio and Mississippi to the Gulf. Catholic priests are invariably sagacious, far-seeing men, and these explorers predicted that their route from Lake Erie westward would become a great thoroughfare; which prediction was fulfilled, first by the Wabash and Erie Canal, and afterwards by the Wabash Railroad.

Upon taking command of the United States forces after the defeat of General Harmer on the St. Joseph's in 1790, and the practical annihilation of the army under General St. Clair, near the head-waters of the Wabash in the following year (the report of which terrible disaster so overwhelmed President Washing-

ton with grief and rage that he gave expression to his feelings in a vehemence of language surprising even those who knew that beneath his usually placid and cold exterior there existed a fiery sensibility which, when suddenly excited, he was unable to control), General Anthony Wayne perceived the necessity of a fortification which would command the portage and prevent free communication between the Eastern and Western Indian tribes. The fort, to which his name was given, was therefore built under his direction, and it became a nucleus of what is now one of the most populous and enterprising cities of Indiana. In 1833 the stockade, enclosing two or three acres and a number of hewn log houses, was still standing. At the head of the allied tribes by which Harmer and St. Clair had been defeated was Little Turtle, Chief of the Miamis, one of the bravest and most sagacious Indians of whom there is any record. It has been stated by some writers that a Mohawk half-breed, called by the English Joseph Brandt, was in command of the Indians in these (to the United States forces) disastrous battles. This, I think, is a mistake. Brandt was raised among the Onondagas, in New York. Having an aptitude for learning, he became a favorite of the English Indian Superintendent and his secretary. When the Revolutionary War broke out, he naturally sided with those in whose service he had been employed, and his name became a name of terror to many settlements in New York and Pennsylvania; but there is no evidence that he took part in either of the battles referred to. Richardville, who succeeded Little Turtle as Chief of the Miamis, informed me that it was Little Turtle who led the Indians, and to whose valor and skill they were indebted for their victories.

Little Turtle had heard of Wayne, and when he learned that this great warrior was to take command of the United States forces, he called the chiefs of the allied tribes together in council, and advised that peace should be proposed to the white men, from whom, he thought, honorable terms could be

obtained. "Our wigwams," said he, "are lined with the scalps of white warriors and filled with plunder; let us make peace and return to our hunting grounds. We may not always be victors. Our enemy is still strong; the new chief, the friend of the great Washington, is a chief who never sleeps." This advice was disregarded. A large majority of the council was in favor of their continuing upon the war-path. "Have we not," said one of the young chiefs, "beaten the white men in two great battles? Is not the land ours? Shall we talk about peace when by a few more blows we may destroy the invaders and enjoy our hunting grounds forever?" Mournfully and with sad forebodings Little Turtle yielded to the demand of those whose thirst for blood had been increased by what they had tasted. The war was continued, and in 1794, the allied tribes were so overwhelmingly defeated near the Maumee Rapids, eighty miles below Fort Wayne, by the forces under Wayne, that they never appeared upon the war-path again. Gathering together the remnants of his tribe after this terrible defeat Little Turtle returned with them to their own country, on the upper Wabash, where he spent the rest of his life in efforts, not to civilize his people, but to save them from being contaminated by intercourse with the whites. To him is due the honor of forming one of the first temperance societies in America. He called together the men of his tribe, and, after portraying the evil of whiskey (fire-water, as it was properly called), he proposed that they should all pledge themselves to each other to drink no more of it. His proposal was agreed to. The pledge was given, and during the life of this great chief it was, with few exceptions, faithfully adhered to.

Little Turtle differed from most Indians in being inquisitive in the desire to know how other people were living, and what they were doing. He had great respect for General Cass, whom he visited at Detroit, and to whom, as the General informed me, he was in the habit of putting questions which exhibited great natural intelligence and a good deal of interest

in the affairs of nations which he had heard about. He could not speak English well, but he understood everything that was said to him in this language. In one of these interviews General Cass told him about Poland; how it had been crushed by the strong nations around it, and was being divided between them. "I never had," said the General, "a more attentive listener. He sat motionless, with his keen eye upon me, until I had finished the mournful story, when he sprang to his feet, and with his hands upon his tomahawk, paced the room with an expression upon his face which indicated that his war spirit was aroused, and that he would be glad to strike a blow for the unfortunate Poles."

I saw a good deal of the Indians in my early life in the West. I was present at many of the annuity payments to the Miamis, and at one of the great councils at which treaties were made. Many of them I knew personally, and I must say of them that, when sober, they were perfectly inoffensive and trustworthy. In riding through their country, in meeting them on the way or at their wigwams, I never had the slightest fear of them nor any cause for distrusting them. It was only when they were intoxicated by the vile whiskey which was sold to them by the traders—and this was not frequently the case—that they were dangerous. From what I know of Indians generally, my conclusion is, that if the treaties with them had been fairly made and faithfully observed, if upright and competent agents had been sent to them and they had been protected against the impositions of villanous traders, Indian wars would have been of rare occurrence. It must be admitted that in numerous instances treaties were made with chiefs who were under the influence of dishonest white men, or by chiefs who did not represent the wishes and sentiments of the tribes, and even such treaties were not faithfully executed by the Government. By neglect of the Indian Bureau at Washington, or the incompetence of Government employees, supplies, in many instances, failed to reach the Indians in sea-

son. In other instances, the articles delivered were of such inferior quality as to justify the suspicion of the existence of something worse than neglect or incompetence on the part of those who acted for the Government. It cannot, perhaps, be truthfully said that Indian agents, as a class, have been dishonest or incompetent; but it can be said, without doing them injustice, that they have not been the kind of men that private individuals would have selected to perform important duties. As for the licensed traders, it can be safely said that they have been the reverse of what they ought to have been. Nor has dishonesty in trade with the Indians been confined to the licensed traders.

There has been a good deal of Indian trade outside of the agencies in which the Indians have been cheated. Nothing surprised me more, as I became acquainted with the manner in which this trade was carried on, than the fact that men who had the reputation of dealing fairly with white men did not hesitate to practise the most shameful impositions in their dealings with Indians. I have known many men who were engaged in the Indian trade, but I cannot remember more than two or three who dealt with them with perfect fairness. Long ago I formed the opinion that the tribes that occupied the northern part of the United States were incapable of being civilized, by which I mean, incapable of living by manual labor upon land or in shops. Differing widely in disposition and character from the tribes in the Southern States, and altogether differing from the aborigines of Central and South America, naturally disinclined to industrial pursuits, they have been doomed to pass away with the game upon which they mainly subsisted. Land is needed for grazing and cultivation. Every acre is, or will be, required for the subsistence of the human family. Territory sufficient to support a thousand Indians by hunting and fishing, would furnish homes for hundreds of thousands of industrious white men. A few families of the various tribes will for a while linger about the industrial civ-

ilization in which they can never fully participate; but as a race they will soon disappear, leaving no record of their origin and no reliable record even of their own existence. While this is to be their fate, there is cause for national humiliation in the fact that their disappearance has been hastened by the vices, the cupidity, the injustice, the inhumanity of a people claiming to be Christians.

Uninviting as Fort Wayne was in many respects, it was fortunate in the character of its settlers—intelligent, far-seeing, wide-awake men, among the most prominent of whom was Samuel Hanna, one of that class to which the West has been indebted for its public improvements. Commencing business in a small way with his brother-in-law, James Barnet, he became the leader in all enterprises which were undertaken for the benefit of Fort Wayne and the country around it; the most important of which were the Ohio and Indiana, and the Fort Wayne and Chicago railroads, the former extending from Crestline in Ohio to Fort Wayne, the latter from Fort Wayne to Chicago. The construction of these roads was uphill work from the start. Again and again were the companies upon the verge of bankruptcy, and nothing saved them but the faith, energy, and unyielding tenacity of Mr. Hanna. He lived to see both roads completed and consolidated with the Pennsylvania and Ohio, forming the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago, one of the great trunk lines of the country.

Allen Hamilton was a Protestant Irishman of a respectable but impoverished family. Having obtained, by the help of some of his relatives, a fair clerical education, and formed the resolution to strike out for himself, as he expressed it, he joined a small company of his countrymen who were about to emigrate to Canada. In due time he reached Montreal, and, after spending a few days in that city in fruitless efforts to find employment, he proceeded on foot to New York, and being equally unsuccessful there, he pushed on in the same way to Philadelphia. Here he was compelled to make a stand.

He was down to his last dollar, and he must either find something to do or starve. Having secured a cheap lodging, and been refreshed by a good night's sleep and a plain but substantial breakfast, he started out hoping to find some one who would take him upon trust and put him to work, no matter what might be the nature of the service. All the long, weary day he spent in going from street to street and shop to shop. Nobody wanted a clerk, and to those who might have given him employment as a laborer, he seemed too delicate to be serviceable. Just as the sun was going down and he was about to return to his lodgings, hungry and despairing, he saw through the window of a plain-looking office a gentleman of venerable appearance sitting at his desk. "This is my last chance," said he to himself; "I will try it." So, mustering what courage he had, he knocked hesitatingly at the door and was bidden to come in. There was something in the tone in which the words "Come in" were uttered that was encouraging. "And what can I do for you?" said the old gentleman. "Something to do by which I can earn an honest living," was the earnest reply. "You look weary and troubled; how happens it, if you are willing to work, that you are in need of employment?" Briefly the young man related his pitiful story. The old gentleman listened to it patiently, and when it was finished he said: "You bear, young man, an honest face. I believe you have told me the truth. You shall have a trial. Come to me in the morning; I will put you at work." These were the first words of encouragement which Hamilton had heard since his arrival at Montreal. His heart, as he said to me years after, went to his mouth. He could hardly speak, and when he did he could only say, "I thank you, sir." The next morning at the appointed hour he was at the office. By his aptness and industry he grew rapidly in the favor of his employer, and was so well paid for his services that in less than a year he had money enough to cover his expenses to Aurora in Indiana, where a distant relative was living. Here

he obtained employment in the office of the County Clerk, and, being a young gentleman of good habits and address, he soon became a visitor at the house of Judge Holman, United States District Judge, whose daughter, a very accomplished girl, the sister of William S. Holman, the distinguished member of Congress from Indiana, he had the good fortune to marry. From Aurora he went to Fort Wayne, and had been living there two or three years when I met him in 1833, unconsciously laying the foundation for a large fortune by investing every dollar he could raise in Government lands. I say unconsciously, because no one then dreamed of the rapidity with which Western lands were to rise in value. In a conversation with him in the spring of 1834, I said that a friend of mine, a ship-master, tired of the sea, was coming to Fort Wayne with $15,000 in cash. "That is a large sum," said he; "if I had that amount of clear cash I should consider myself rich." He died about twenty-five years from that time, leaving an estate worth a million or more. The turning-point in Mr. Hamilton's life was his kind reception by the old Quaker in Philadelphia. From that day his career was one of uninterrupted success. Nor was his good fortune confined to the acquisition of wealth. He was equally fortunate in his family relations. Especially fortunate was he in having sons who (unlike the sons of most rich men in the United States) are adding to the estate which their father left them, and at the same time maintaining his good reputation.

William G. Ewing and his brother, George W., formed the firm of "W. G. & G. W. Ewing." They had come from Ohio, and with Mr. Hanna, Mr. Hamilton, and others whom I shall mention, were among the first settlers of Northern Indiana. As there were at that time no surplus agricultural productions in that section, the only business opening for them was trade with the Indians and white hunters and trappers in furs and skins. Commencing in a small way at Fort Wayne, they rapidly extended their field of operations, and in a few

years from the time at which they bought the first coonskin, the firm of "W. G. & G. W. Ewing" became one of the most widely known and successful trading-firms of the Northwest. For a considerable period their bills drawn upon their consignee in New York against shipments of furs and skins furnished the larger part of the New York exchange of the branch bank, of which I was manager. But large and profitable as was their trade, the bulk of their large fortune was the result of investments in real estate, the most fortunate of which were in Chicago and St. Louis. Enterprising, laborious, adventurous men they were, but so devoted to business, so persistent in the pursuit of gain, that they had no time to enjoy the fruits of their labors. I have rarely met their equals in business capacity or general intelligence; very few have I known who had less real enjoyment of life. Charles W. Ewing, their brother, was a lawyer, and one of the most graceful and fascinating speakers, one of the most accomplished and agreeable men socially, that I ever became acquainted with. He had a splendid physique and a classic face. He was an excellent singer and story-teller. He had made a study of Shakespeare, and could quote the finest passages from the works of the great master in a manner that could hardly be surpassed by distinguished actors. In addition to these accomplishments and advantages, he was a good lawyer and skilful advocate. So thoroughly equipped was he for success in the higher walks of life that the most distinguished positions would have been within his reach, if his convivial habits had not led him into dissipation which terminated prematurely a career the opening of which was full of promise.

Samuel Lewis, who had charge of the Wabash and Erie Canal land office, was a man of the purest character and of superior business capacity. His wife, a lady of rare intelligence, was the aunt of General Lew Wallace, who is adding to his high reputation as a soldier enviable distinction as a writer. The house in which Mr. Lewis lived was a double log cabin,

the latchstring of which was always out, a cabin which was rendered charming in summer by the beauty and odors of the honeysuckles and climbing roses which covered its walls, and in winter by the cheerful blaze in its ample fire-places, and which was always made doubly charming by the open-handed hospitality of its host. Lewis G. Thompson was for many years the leading physician of Fort Wayne. He had that instinctive knowledge of diseases which distinguishes the born physician, and without which medical knowledge derived from books is a snare. Belonging to the old allopathic school, he believed in medicine, and gave evidence of his faith by prescriptions which were the reverse of homœopathic, but so accurate was his intuition in locating diseases, that he was rarely at fault in treating them. I admired Dr. Thompson for his medical skill and for his many noble and manly qualities, but more than all for the conscientiousness and humanity which compelled him to treat with equal carefulness and attention those who were able to pay for his services and those who were not. Jesse L. Williams, the chief engineer of the Wabash and Erie Canal, was living at Fort Wayne in 1833. When the State engaged in an extensive system of public works, he was appointed chief engineer of the State, and went to Indianapolis, where he remained until the entire system collapsed in the general financial crash of 1837, and all hopes of its revival had been abandoned, when he returned to Fort Wayne, where he recently died, the last survivor of those whom I first met there. Few of our civil engineers have surpassed Mr. Williams in engineering skill, and I have never known his equal in industry and endurance. His labors as chief engineer of the Wabash and Erie Canal, and other public works in Indiana, were prodigious, but he never failed to be equal to them. Week after week and month after month, every day except Sunday, on which he always rested, he could be found upon the line of the public works, usually in the saddle, and in the evening, and until midnight, at his desk.

The only position which he has held outside of Indiana was that of Government director of the Union Pacific road, which he held for only a short period. He found soon after his appointment that there was a secret as well as open connection between the railroad company and the Crédit Mobilier, the nature of which he was not to be made acquainted with; a wheel-within-a-wheel management, which he suspected was not favorable to the interests which he was appointed to look after and protect, and he therefore resigned his directorship. Mr. Williams acquired a large property, and he was very fortunate in his family connections. His wife (a daughter of Judge Creighton of Chillicothe, Ohio), who is still living, is a lady of superior culture, who has always been distinguished alike for her social qualities and active beneficence. His sons, while they do not come up to their father's standard in energy, will not discredit the name which they bear.

The men whom I have thus mentioned, with Robert Breckenridge, Register of the Land Office, a man who possessed the best qualities of the distinguished Breckenridge family of Kentucky, of which he was a distant connection; Marshall S. Wines, a man of extraordinary enterprise and force; John Spencer, Receiver of the Land Office; Francis Comparet, and John B. Bourie, Canadian Frenchmen, who were just commencing what soon became a large trade in furs with the Indians, made up, with their families and a few stragglers, the population of Fort Wayne in the early summer of 1833. Since then I have seen a good deal of the world. I have been thrown among people of all grades; I have been brought into social and business relations with men standing high in public esteem; but the men of whom I have spoken, after the lapse of more than half a century, stand out before me in bold relief as remarkably intelligent, enterprising, far-seeing, and withal kind-hearted, generous men. Nor do I forget the roving, daring men who opened the way for settlers, but never lingered when people became numerous and game became scarce—the leather-stock-

ing frontiersmen of the West. Rough in manners, uncouth, if not repulsive, in appearance, as some of them were, they seemed to be the very men whom it would not be safe to meet in out-of-the-way places. But such they were not. Thieves, robbers, murderers are not bred in the forests where nature exists in its freshness and beauty; they are the product of gregarious civilization. Many a time have I met frontiersmen in places where resistance would have been in vain, without receiving from them any but the kindest treatment. Beneath a rough exterior there was a mine of noble qualities, which slumbered only when there was nothing to bring them into exercise. "Scratch a Russian, and you will find a Tartar," said Napoleon. "Scratch a Christian, and you will find a pagan," says Heber Newton. Reversing the scale, I could say as the result of my observation, that if one of these frontiersmen had been scratched, there would have been revealed a gentleman.

Nor ought I to conclude what I have thought it proper for me to say about my early acquaintances in the West without saying a few more words about a prominent and remarkable man, John B. Richardville, who succeeded Little Turtle as chief of the Miamis. His father was a Frenchman, his mother a squaw. By what rule of succession or selection he became chief I was not informed, but he proved to be the right man for the place. He was no war chief, like Little Turtle. He had not a drop of fighting blood in his veins, but he was a man of great natural shrewdness and sagacity, of whom no one ever got the better in a trade. Nor did he find an equal in diplomatic skill among the Government commissioners when treaties were to be made with his nation. "He is," said Senator Tipton, who met him frequently in council, "the ablest diplomat of whom I have any knowledge. If he had been born and educated in France, he would have been the equal of Talleyrand." Although he dressed like a white man, and lived in a brick house, he had a commanding influence over the

tribe. He was watchful of the interests of his people, but by no means unmindful of his own. In all treaties, large reservations of the choicest lands were secured to him, and not a few boxes of silver were set aside for his special use. The great mistake of his life was made, he said, when he yielded his own judgment to that of a Catholic priest, who was one of his secular as well as spiritual advisers, and sent his two boys away from home to be educated—one in Louisville, the other in Montreal. Apt to learn, and patient under discipline, they took high rank in their respective schools, and when they returned to their home, near Fort Wayne, they were as bright and interesting young fellows as could be found anywhere. Such they did not long continue. They had lost their taste for Indian life, and they had no disposition to engage in the pursuits of white men. They soon passed from listlessness to dissipation, and became the most degraded of the young men of the tribe. "Education," said their disappointed father, "very good for white boys; bad, very bad, for Indians."

With the exception of a few of their chiefs, who were landowners, the Miamis were removed to what is now Kansas, in 1846, and I recollect the doleful descriptions which came from them of that country. To them it was a desert over which the fierce winds were constantly sweeping, without trees, and without game. The change from a country like Northern Indiana, its lakes and rivers abounding with fish, and its splendid forests alive with game of nearly all descriptions, to a nearly treeless plain, was indeed disheartening. Said one of the traders who went with them to me on his return: "I am, as you know, unused to the melting mood; but when the young braves at my parting with them burst into tears and begged like children to be taken back to their old home, I could not help crying also."

CHAPTER XI.

My First Illness Cheered by a Catholic Priest—The State Bank of Indiana—Appointed Cashier and Manager of the Fort Wayne Branch—Excellent and Liberal Charter of the Bank—General Management—Benefits to the State—Capital Paid up in Spanish and Mexican Dollars—Its Managers—Samuel Merrill, President, and James M. Ray, Cashier, and Prominent Directors—J. F. D. Lanier.

I REACHED Fort Wayne on the 26th of June, and on the 4th of July, while I was delivering an oration, I had a chill, which was followed by what was called an acclimating bilious fever, from which I did not fully recover until October. For some days my recovery was considered doubtful, even by my physician, Dr. Thompson, and so prostrated was I after the fever left me that for weeks I was as helpless as a child. During my illness I received from my physician all the attention which he was able to give me, but it was a sickly season, and he had so many other patients to attend to that I seldom saw him except in the morning and evening. His wife and her sister, Mrs. Forsyth, were not lacking in kindness, but my room was separated from their house, and with their own families to look after, they had little time to give to a stranger. My room, the furniture of which was a bed, two splint-bottomed chairs and a dry-goods box, which answered the purpose of a table, was about as cheerless as could be imagined. The only one to wait upon me was a lad twelve or thirteen years old, and my almost only visitor was a French Catholic priest, who called two or three times a week, not to administer spiritual consolation, but to cheer me by his pleasant and encouraging talk. He had been educated in Paris, and was old enough at the time of the Revolution to observe and to be impressed by what he witnessed during the Reign of Terror.

He spoke the English language fluently, and I recollect vividly how charmed I was by the tones of his voice, and how he seemed to strengthen me in my contest for life by his description of the fortitude he had witnessed of those of his own order under the cruelties to which they had been subjected. It has always seemed strange to me that I should not, at any time during my protracted and dangerous illness, deprived as I was of all the care and comforts to which I had been accustomed in my New England home, have been depressed in spirits. I knew, of course, that I was desperately ill, and although my physician always spoke encouragingly, I knew by his treatment that he regarded my case as critical, but I was never despondent. If my courage had given way, I should have died. It was pluck that saved me.

During my illness the population of Fort Wayne had been considerably increased by new-comers, as had also its business by active work upon the Wabash and Erie Canal, which was then being rapidly constructed. This alone would probably have induced me to remain there, but the question whether I should do that or go further was no longer an open one. It had been decided by the emptiness of my purse. As soon, therefore, as I was able to be upon my feet, although but little better than a skeleton, I took possession of a ten-by-twelve office which Dr. Thompson had built for me, and hung out my shingle as an attorney-at-law. I had not long to wait for clients. The oration which I delivered on the 4th of July had made a favorable impression upon those who heard it (I believe that everybody in town or the neighborhood was present), and I soon had business enough to keep me pretty well employed. On the first day I was called upon to draw a contract of considerable importance; the next day, a will; a day or two after, to defend a man charged with a breach of the peace. So the business went on steadily increasing with my improvement in health, and at the end of the year I had made more than enough to cover expenses, with fair prospects of satisfactory

success in my profession. Fate had decreed, however, that I was not to earn my bread by the practice of the law.

The State Bank of Indiana was chartered in the winter of 1833 and 1834. Ten of the branches were organized and put into operation in the following November. The next year the eleventh branch was established at Fort Wayne, and subsequently two more were established—one at South Bend, the other at Michigan City. In October, 1835, I was appointed cashier and manager of the Fort Wayne branch. I had no practical knowledge whatever of banking, and I said so to the directors; but they supposed that I was better fitted for the place than anybody else whose services they could obtain, and I did not feel at liberty to decline the appointment. I did not, however, intend to abandon my profession, and I accepted the appointment with the understanding that I should be at liberty to resign at any time after the organization had been perfected and business had been fairly commenced. I did not resign. I liked the business of banking, and had no disposition to resume the practice of the law. In 1836 I was appointed, by the directors of the branch, a director of the State Bank, and I held the office of cashier of the branch and director of the bank until the expiration of the charter in 1857. During this period I had the entire management of the business of the branch. Mr. Hamilton, the president, received only a nominal salary, and gave the bank very little personal attention. The directors met every week, rather to sanction the doings of the cashier than to decide upon discounts, and there being practically but one head, there was never any diversity of opinion as to what had been, or ought to be, done. The charter required a quarterly examination of the condition of the branches by committees of their directors. This examination was rather formal than actual, in most if not all of the branches. It was, I know, only formal at Fort Wayne. Not so, however, was it with the examinations—always semi-annual

and sometimes more frequent—which were made by the president of the bank. As no notice was ever given of the time when these examinations were to be looked for, no especial preparation could be made for them by the officers of the branches, and they were always of the most searching and thorough character. So searching and thorough were they, that fraud or mismanagement could hardly have escaped detection. I can bear testimony to the intelligence, the industry and honesty which were displayed in the examinations by Samuel Merrill, the first president, and his successor, James Morrison. The thoroughness of these examinations did much, I am sure, to keep the business of the branches in a safe and healthy condition.

In nothing was the wisdom, the practical good sense, of the representatives of the people of Indiana in the legislative assembly more strikingly exhibited than in the charter of this bank. In some respects it resembled the charter of the United States Bank; but it contained grants and obligations, privileges and restrictions quite unlike those which were to be found in any other bank charter, and which were admirably adapted to the condition of the State and the circumstances of the people. The number of branches was limited to thirteen, the capital of each of which was to be one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, one-half of which was to be furnished by the State. During the existence of the charter no other bank or corporate banking institution was to be authorized or permitted in the State. As there were no capitalists and few men of more than very moderate means in Indiana, the charter provided that to every stockholder who should pay eighteen dollars and seventy-five cents on each fifty-dollar share by him subscribed for, the State should at his request advance as a loan thirty-one dollars and twenty-five cents, so that the stock might be fully paid up. The loan was to be secured by bond and mortgage on real estate at one-half its appraised value. The stockholder was to be charged six per cent. on the loan, and credited with whatever dividends might be declared on that part of the

stock which was thus to be paid for by the State. As an illustration, a stockholder who should subscribe for one hundred shares of stock ($5,000) would pay eighteen hundred and seventy-five, and the State, at his option, would pay for him thirty-one hundred and twenty-five dollars. The dividends on the latter were to be received by the State and credited upon his loan. Many stockholders availed themselves of this option, and as in most of the branches the dividends largely exceeded six per cent., they found themselves before the expiration of the charter to be the owners of the stock subscribed for, free from the lien of the State. In the best-managed branches, the lien of the State was discharged some years before the charter expired. The branch at Fort Wayne was not the best, but it was one of the best-managed branches. The profits of this branch so much exceeded six per cent., that the loan was paid, if I recollect rightly, seven years before the expiration of the charter (during which period the largest profits were made), and the borrowing stockholder received for that period the dividends on the full amount of his shares. Nor was this all. At the winding up of the business of the branch, he received not only the par value of his stock, but an equal amount from the accumulated surplus.

To pay for its stock and the advances to stockholders, the State issued and sold in London its coupon bonds, bearing five per cent. interest, to run for a period slightly exceeding the time for which the bank had been chartered. These bonds were known as bank bonds, the interest and principal of which were equitably secured by the stock of the State in the branches, and its lien upon individual stock for advances. Long before their maturity the State was in a condition to retire them; but although her general credit had been broken down in the crisis of 1837, and her other bonds were for a number of years regarded as being well nigh valueless, these bank bonds could not be reached, although a handsome premium was offered for them. The stock of the State in the

branches, and the individual stock on which the State had made advances, was under the care of a board known as "commissioners of the sinking fund," composed of the president and five directors of the bank, on the part of the State, and a secretary who was cashier of the bank. It was the duty of this board to receive the dividends on the stock of which it had the care, and after paying the interest on the bank bonds, to lend the overplus to citizens of the State on bonds and mortgages.

To lend the money judiciously and safely on the security of real estate, which, although generally advancing in value, was as generally over-rated, especially in speculative times, there were required on the part of the commissioners practical knowledge and sound judgment as well as integrity. That they were not lacking in these good qualities was proven by the fact that on these loans, running up as they did into the millions, not a dollar was lost. The result of the connection of the State with the bank was a net profit of nearly three millions of dollars, which became the basis of her large and well-managed school fund. Nor was the pecuniary gain the only benefit which the State derived from the bank. At the commencement of its business, when the agricultural productions of the State did not much exceed the demand for home consumption, a large part of the loans were necessarily to men who were buying or improving lands. No considerable losses were sustained on these loans, but they were sluggish and unreliable, and if in excess of the capital of the branches, might become dangerous. The managers of the branches were not slow in discovering this fact, and the lesson which it taught was so sharply impressed upon them by the financial crisis of 1837 and the terrible depression which followed, that from the time when business began to revive the loans which they made were mainly confined to bills of exchange, based upon produce shipped or to be shipped to Eastern or Southern markets. Such loans were the only loans which could be made

with advantage to the State or, except to a very limited extent, with safety to the branches. What the State needed was the means for sending its agricultural productions to market. What the bank needed, in order to be able at all times to meet its liabilities, was what was called prompt paper. Both of these requirements were met by the policy which the bank adopted in 1843, and steadily pursued. Not only did the bank furnish the needful means for sending the surplus productions of the State to market, but by its judicious loans to farmers, to enable them to increase their stock of cattle and hogs to consume their surplus of corn, which loans were taken up by bills of exchange drawn against shipments, it greatly stimulated and increased production. I do not exaggerate when I say that the profits of the State upon her bank stock, large as they were, were small in comparison with the increase of her wealth by the manner in which the business of the bank was conducted. Its capital was a little more than two millions of dollars, but its discount line was so active that it was able to do a business quite disproportioned to its capital, the aggregate of its loans sometimes amounting in a single year to ten or fifteen millions. I have said that its charter was in many respects peculiar. It was not, like the Bank of the United States, a bank with branches, but rather a bank of branches. It was a bank in this respect only: it had a president, a cashier, and a board of directors, but as a bank it transacted no banking business. The president, who was *ex-officio* a member of the board, was elected by the legislature, as were also five directors, on the part of the State; the other directors were elected by the branches, one by each. It was a board of control, and its authority over the branches was arbitrary, almost unlimited. It could suspend a branch for mismanagement, or close it up if the mismanagement was likely to imperil the other branches, or to affect injuriously their credit. The power to put a branch in liquidation was, however, never exercised, and only in one instance was the

business of a branch suspended, and that suspension was only temporary.

The stockholders of each branch were liable for the debts of the branch to an amount equal to the par value of their shares, and each branch, although independent in respect to its profits, was liable for the debts of every other branch. This responsibility of the branches for the debts of the respective branches created a general vigilance which was productive of excellent results. No branch could make a wide departure from the line of prudent banking (the other branches being responsible for its debts) without being subjected to a rigid overhauling and incurring the risk of being closed. The circulating notes of the branches were obtained from the officers of the bank, and there could be no over-issue except by collusion between them and the officers of the branches, which was rendered quite impossible by checks that could not be circumvented. Dividends of the profits of the branches were declared by the directors of the bank. None were declared which had not been earned, and a part of the profits were always reserved for the purpose of creating a surplus fund. The amount of the surplus at the expiration of the charter I have already spoken of. Such were the restrictions and conservative features of the charter. On the other hand, its privileges were of the most liberal character. The branches could issue circulating notes to twice the amount of their capitals, and while they could not extend their regular discount lines beyond twice their capitals, they could use their surplus funds in dealings in foreign and domestic exchange.

Privileges like these, notwithstanding the checks and restrictions which were imposed upon them, might have been abused, and the State Bank of Indiana might have shared the fate of the State Bank of Illinois, which, chartered in the same year, disastrously failed in 1837, had it not been for the conservative and high moral character of the men who controlled it. None of the directors or officers of the bank or of

its branches had made banking a study, or had any practical knowledge of the business, and yet no serious mistakes were made by them. Cautious, prudent, upright, they obtained, step by step, the practical knowledge which enabled them to bring the transactions of the branches into close accord with the public interests, and to secure for the bank a credit co-extensive with the country west of the Alleghanies, and which was never shaken. Its notes were current and of the best repute throughout the Mississippi Valley, from the lakes to the Gulf. It suspended specie payments in 1837, as did all other banking institutions of the country except the Chemical Bank of New York, but it always furnished New York exchange to its customers, at one per cent. premium, for its own notes or other bankable funds. Nor was its suspension absolute, as there never was a time that it failed to supply the home demand for coin, which at that time was silver, and practically silver only. Although the double standard existed in the United States, the metallic currency of the country chiefly, and throughout the West exclusively, from the time the bank was organized in 1834 to the discovery of gold in California in 1848, was silver. The capital of the bank was paid up in Spanish and Mexican dollars, and its reserve continued to be in this coin until it was sold for gold at a premium of about three per cent. on Mexican dollars and six per cent. on Spanish. I had been a banker for fourteen years before I handled or saw a dollar in gold except the ten-thaler pieces which were brought into this country by German immigrants. If Professor Sumner had been a banker at any time prior to 1848, he would not have gone so wide of the mark as he did in saying, in the 1885 June number of the *North American Review*, "We do not want or need silver as a circulating medium, and shall not abandon it, because we never had it." We did have it, and sooner or later we shall have it again, and without its being degraded. We are not prepared—the world is not prepared—for the demonetization of either gold or

silver, nor can this preparation be brought about without the wiping out of a very large part of public and private debts. Debts contracted when both metals are used as money would be a burden too heavy to be borne when measured by a single standard.

As has been seen, the profits of the bank were large, but they were legitimate. The borrowers paid only six per cent. on the money which they borrowed, and the bills which they drew were on such time as was needed for the transportation and sale of the productions against which they were drawn. The profits in addition to the six per cent. discount were derived from the sale of exchange which these productions created at the seaboard cities. Borrowers obtained money when they wanted to use it, and the loans were paid where the productions were disposed of without prejudice to the borrowers. There was never a more wholesome banking business done between banks and their customers than was done by the State Bank of Indiana and its customers through a large part of its career. It is proper for me to remark that while the ruling rate of discount on all home paper and on bills payable at the seaboard cities was six per cent., the Southern branches did charge a small commission in addition to interest on bills payable in New Orleans, where New York exchange was sometimes at a discount, sometimes at a premium.

The charter of the bank for active business expired on the first day of January, 1857, but its legal existence for the winding up of its affairs continued until 1859, before which time it became certain that a considerable amount of its circulating notes, widely circulated as they had been, would be outstanding after its existence had ceased. In order, therefore, to prevent loss to note holders, and to maintain the honor of the bank after its dissolution, contracts were made by the bank with responsible parties for the redemption of all notes not presented in its lifetime.

If the history of this bank should be written it would be

both interesting and instructive. It would be the history of a bank which, although established in a new State and committed to the charge of inexperienced men, through periods of speculation and depression, prosperous and unprosperous years, was so managed as largely to increase the wealth of the State, and secure for itself a reputation for honorable dealings and fidelity to its engagements which placed it in the front rank of wisely and honorably conducted banking institutions. Of its managers, my associates—some of them for nearly a quarter of a century—my recollections are of the pleasantest nature. More upright, trustworthy men could not be found anywhere. There may have been, there may be now, better bankers; but, wide as my acquaintance and observation have been, it has not been my good fortune to meet them. Merrill and Ray, the president and cashier of the bank; Lanier, Fletcher Blanchard, Dunning, Fitch, Ball, Rathbone, Ross, Burkham, Orr, Rector, Chapin and others, directors of the bank and managers of the branches, were all of them men of sterling qualities and great aptitude for business. In this bank there was no betrayal of trust, and only one single instance was there of official dishonesty. At the quarterly meetings of the directors of the bank at Indianapolis, at which all the branches were represented, the balances between the branches were adjusted. Very frequently considerable amounts passed from hand to hand in these adjustments, and such was the confidence which the directors had in each other that no receipts were ever given. Each entered upon his memorandum book his payments and receipts, and in no case was this confidence found to have been misplaced.

I may mention here a fact which shows that the changes which have taken place in what were then new States have not been altogether in the right direction. There were, in the times of this bank, no express companies in the West. Money was carried from place to place by its owners or private messengers. I have said that at the quarterly meetings of the bank

directors the accounts between the branches were adjusted. It was at these meetings also that the branches usually obtained their circulating notes. Every director, therefore, in going to or returning from these meetings, was under the necessity of taking with him considerable amounts of money, and although the most of the directors travelled on horseback, and were sometimes two or three days on their way, there was no instance of robbery. Fort Wayne was three good days' ride from Indianapolis, mostly through the woods. For fifteen years I made this journey on horseback and alone, with thousands of dollars in my saddle-bags, without the slightest fear of being robbed. I was well known upon the road, and it was well known that I had money with me, and a good deal of it, and yet I rode unarmed through the woods, and stopped for the night at the taverns or cabins on the way, in perfect safety. In what part of the United States would a man dare to travel in this way now?

I am here reminded of the reduction which has been made in the rates of postage. For eleven years of the existence of the charter of the State Bank, postage on a single letter for thirty miles was six and a quarter cents; over thirty and under eighty, ten cents; over eighty and under one hundred and fifty, twelve and a half cents; over one hundred and fifty and under four hundred, eighteen and three quarter cents; and over four hundred, twenty-five cents; and the same rates for every inclosure no matter how small, and four times these rates if the letter weighed over one ounce. The post-office clerks seemed to have great skill in ascertaining how many pieces a letter contained. Rarely indeed did the Government fail to get all that it was entitled to. On a very large proportion of the letters received from the seaboard States at the Fort Wayne branch prior to 1845, the postage was a dollar and upwards. In 1845 the rates were reduced more than fifty per cent., a reduction which, according to the predictions of the opponents of the measure, would bankrupt the Post-

Office Department, if it did not the Treasury. Little did those who advocated the reduction think that in less than forty years two cents would carry a letter weighing an ounce across the continent. Nothing shows better the growth of the country than a comparison of our present postal system with that which existed half a century ago, nor more clearly how cheapness increases use.

I have dwelt at some length upon the State Bank of Indiana, because it was one of the best-managed banking institutions of its day, and because there is scarcely any part of a long and busy life which I look back upon with more real satisfaction than that which was spent in its service. Of those who were prominent in connection with the bank, the only one who left it and the State to enter into business elsewhere was Mr. J. F. D. Lanier, who resigned the presidency of the branch at Madison and his directorship of the bank, to establish with Mr. Winslow, a gentleman of high financial standing, the banking house of Winslow, Lanier & Co. In this new field Mr. Lanier displayed the knowledge of men and of business which he had acquired in Indiana, and the quickness of apprehension and decision for which he had been there distinguished—qualities essential to success in a city celebrated not only for the magnitude but the celerity of its transactions; and it was not long before the house of Winslow, Lanier & Co. stood in the front rank among the great banking houses of New York. Mr. Lanier was not only a man of great financial ability, but one whose open manners, social disposition, and excellent character commanded the esteem of those who became his intimates in private life.

CHAPTER XII.

Demand for more Banking Capital—Free Banking Authorized—Manner in which it was Conducted—Its Failure—Bill Chartering the Bank of the State of Indiana Passed over the Governor's Veto—Manner in which its Stock was Subscribed for—The Control Passes into Hands of Managers of the Old Bank—I Become its President—Commencement of Business, January, 1857—Failure of the Ohio Life and Trust Company of Cincinnati—General Suspension of the Banks—The Bank of the State of Indiana Maintains its Integrity and Saves its Charter—Authorized by Opinion of the Supreme Court to Redeem its Notes in Legal Tenders—Good Behavior of the Banks of New Orleans.

THE State Bank of Indiana was a monopoly. During its existence no other bank could be chartered, no other banking system could be authorized. In the mean time the business and population of the State had very largely increased, and railroads had begun to make important changes in the commercial advantages of the towns. Some towns in which branches of the bank were established were being outstripped by towns that were hardly known when the bank was chartered. As a consequence a popular sentiment, seemingly irresistible, had been created before the expiration of the charter of the bank, that there ought to be what was called "a new shuffle and deal" in the banking business of the State. The convention for the revision of the constitution had refused to authorize an extension of the charter of the bank, and the directors were satisfied that a charter of another bank with liberal privileges could not be obtained without influences which they would be unable or unwilling to bring to bear upon the legislature. They therefore, without a dissenting opinion, resolved to retire gracefully from the field which they had occupied and monopolized for nearly a quarter of a century, and leave it open to free banking, which had been authorized

by the new constitution, and for which there seemed to be a growing popular demand throughout the West. An act was passed by the legislature authorizing the organization of free banks, but so near was the expiration of the charter of the State Bank, that it was not thought advisable by the directors to test the validity of the act by any legal proceedings. By this Free Bank act it was made the duty of the State Treasurer to receive from banks organized in conformity with its provision bonds of the State and other States, and to issue therefor notes prepared at the expense of the banks to the full amount of the bonds. As the times were flush, and credit easily obtained, anybody who could command two or three thousand dollars of money could buy on a margin the bonds necessary to establish a bank, to be paid for in its notes after its organization had been completed. Many of these free banks came into existence with no more actual cash capital than was required to cover the engravers' bills, and to pay for the scanty furniture of rented banking rooms. After they were thus started, the way was clear for rapidly increasing if not for unlimited issues.

A single case illustrates the operation of free banking in Indiana under the first Free Bank act. An enterprising gentleman, whose cash capital did not exceed ten thousand dollars, in connection with two others who were utterly impecunious, bought, mostly on credit, fifty thousand dollars of the bonds of one of the Southern States. These bonds he deposited with the treasurer, and as soon as they could be engraved he received an equal amount of notes, with which he paid for the bonds. This transaction having been completed, more bonds were bought and paid for in the same manner; and the operation was continued until the financial crisis of 1857 occurred; at which time this bank, which had been started with a capital of ten thousand dollars, had a circulation of six hundred thousand dollars, secured by State bonds, on which the bank had for two or three years been receiving the interest. After the

country had recovered from the general depression which followed the collapse in 1837, which recovery was not fully reached until 1844, there was a period of great prosperity in all branches of productive industry, which stimulated enterprise and created unusual demands for currency. At the same time there was little demand for coin for exportation, and consequently bank notes were rarely presented for redemption. Hence it was that these free banks, organized as most of them were as banks of circulation only, had nothing to do but to put out their notes and draw interest on their bonds. Their life was pleasant but short; their demise ruinous and shameful. As soon as their notes began to be presented for payment they died without a struggle. When the crash came, State bonds declined rapidly in market value, and the bank notes nominally secured by them declined still more rapidly, and the unfortunate holders became the victims of money dealers who, being advised on what bonds the notes had been issued, could form a correct opinion of their value, and who never failed to use this knowledge for their own advantage and with severe loss to the holders of the notes.

Upon the failure of a bank the treasurer offered to surrender the bonds, dollar for dollar, for the notes which they were pledged to secure. The money dealers were prompt in availing themselves of this offer. Never was so active and profitable a business done by the brokers of Cincinnati, Indianapolis, and other cities as was done by them in buying, assorting and exchanging with each other the notes of the suspended banks, and in receiving for them the bonds which were held by the treasurer. The brokers were enriched by the operation; the losers were the note holders, and these, as is usually the case in bank failures, were mostly of that class which is the least able to bear losses. The experience of Illinois in the working of free banking was similar to that of Indiana. The acts of both States which authorized it lacked all the conservative provisions which have made the national banking system suc-

cessful, and the result was what might have been anticipated. The losses of these States by the experiment amounted to millions of dollars, and yet the growth of the States was not greatly retarded by them. Nothing could better illustrate their resources and the energy of their people.

But while the directors of the State Bank had determined to retire from the field, a number of active and influential politicians of both parties formed what would now be called a "syndicate" to obtain a charter for another bank, to take the place of the State Bank, and similar to it in its most important features. To accomplish their object, they used the personal and political influence which they possessed to secure the election to the legislature of 1854 and 1855 of men who were, or might be induced to be, friendly to their object. There was no important political election then pending, and the work was done so quietly that a majority favorable to the measure was obtained in both branches of the legislature without any agitation of the question in the canvass. Early in the session a carefully prepared bill to establish "The Bank of the State of Indiana" was introduced in the Senate, and passed without serious opposition. In the House strong objections were raised to it by some influential members, and for some days its fate seemed to outsiders to be doubtful; but its friends were stronger than its opponents, and it passed the House as it had passed the Senate, by a decided majority. It was known that the Governor was hostile to the bill, and personally hostile to some of its promoters. It was returned to the Senate with a spirited veto message, which might have defeated it, if its promoters had not taken into consideration the opposition of the Governor in estimating and securing the number of votes that would be needed to render his objections of no avail. It passed both houses, and became a law on the 3d of March, 1855, the Governor's objection to the contrary, notwithstanding.

The bill, as I have said, was carefully drawn, and in many important respects it was a counterpart of the charter of the

State Bank. The difference in the two charters was mainly in the facts that the State was not to be stockholder in the new bank; that the number of the branches was to be twenty, instead of thirteen, its authorized capital six millions of dollars, instead of two millions, and that the president was to be elected by the directors. It was a very valuable charter, and the promoters of the bill immediately took the necessary steps to secure for themselves the result of their exertions and expenditures. A majority of the promoters did not intend to become bankers. Their object was to sell the franchise after having secured the control of the stock. To obtain this control they were prepared. The incorporators (commissioners, as they were called) were their personal friends; some of them were interested in the enterprise. It was their duty to divide the State into districts, to locate a branch in each district and, other things being equal, in the same county in which there was a branch of the State Bank, and to appoint sub-commissioners to open books for subscriptions to the stock. The capital stock of the bank was to be divided into shares of $50 each, and no branch was to be organized until stock to the amount of $100,000 had been subscribed, to be paid for in instalments, the first instalment to be two dollars, which was to be paid to the sub-commissioners when the subscription was made. Ample notice was to be given of the time and place at which the subscription books were to be opened, which were to be kept open for thirty days, if the requisite amount of stock should not sooner be subscribed.

All of these requirements of the charter were complied with. The sub-commissioners were appointed, the proper notices were given, and the books were opened, but they were kept open only long enough to enable one or two representatives of the promoters to subscribe for the full amount of the authorized capital. This having been done, the books were closed; the first instalment (two dollars per share) was paid to the sub-commissioners, and the promoters became the owners

of one of the best bank charters that had ever been granted in the United States. All this was accomplished in the summer of 1855, and as business was not to be commenced until the first of January, 1857, the promoters, now the stockholders, had ample time to dispose of the stock or to make the necessary preparations for putting the branches into active operation. Nothing was done in either direction until the following spring. In the mean time, however, the stock of the branches had been divided among those who had been instrumental in obtaining the charter and in completing the organization of the bank. The charter required that the residue of the stock should be paid in such instalments as the branch directors might call for, but that not less than $100,000 should be required to be paid into each branch before the first of January, 1857. As has been stated, the promoters were not bankers. Few of them had money to invest in banking, and it soon appeared that all but three of the branches were owned by men who would not be prepared to meet the $48 per share as it might be called for, and that seventeen of the branches were for sale. Their owners, although not capitalists, were men of good standing. Some of them were prominent politicians, who expected to be still more prominent; all were respectable citizens of the State, and consequently they were not disposed to sell to non-residents, nor to any persons who would not be able to make the Bank of the State a worthy successor of the State Bank.

Under these circumstances they concluded that the only creditable and safe course for them to pursue was to open negotiations with some of the prominent directors of the old bank. A conference was held, in accordance with this conclusion, between three or four men on each side, the result of which was a proposition for the sale of seventeen of the branches, and a couple of weeks were given for its consideration. Within that time the proposition was accepted, but with the condition that the directors of the bank should, at the approaching

May session, make me its president. This was done, and with all possible speed the transfers of stock were effected, and the new bank passed under the control of the men who had controlled the old one, and of other well-known citizens of Indiana. It is not necessary for me to say what premium was paid for the stock, except that it varied according to the location of the branches, and that the bargain was entirely satisfactory both to sellers and buyers. The honor of being president of the new bank was enhanced by the fact that the purchase of its stock by men with whom I had been associated for more than twenty years was upon the condition that I should be elected to that important office.

I had been tolerably hard worked before, but the real hard work of my life commenced with my election to the presidency of the Bank of the State of Indiana. Within a period of seven months twenty branches, seven of them in new hands, each with a capital of not less than $100,000, were to be ready for business. Books were to be obtained and properly opened. Bank notes were to be engraved and signed by me in readiness for delivery to the branches, before or soon after the first of January following. In addition to my various duties as president of the bank, my attention was required in the organization of the new branch at Fort Wayne, and in the winding up of the old one; so that at a time when rest would have been agreeable, I was overwhelmed with work which only habits of industry and vigorous health enabled me to perform. The charter required, as did the charter of the State Bank, that all the circulating notes supplied to the branches should be signed by the president. No one who has not had a trial of it can have any conception of the unmitigated wearisomeness of signing one's name day after day and week after week. My self-imposed limit was a thousand sheets (four thousand signatures) a day. For a single day, even with a name as difficult to write rapidly as mine, this would not be a hard task; but to follow it for weeks and months, as I did in the autumn

of 1856, would, if it were a punishment, be too inhuman to be inflicted upon the most guilty of criminals. The work, however, irksome as it was, was performed. Four millions of dollars in circulating notes, a considerable part of which were in ones and twos, were signed and delivered to the branches before the first of January, 1857, or soon after. This uncomfortable work did not end with furnishing the branches with the notes to which they were entitled at the start. The increase of capital and the necessity of issuing clean notes in exchange for those which became defaced, compelled me to give a good deal of time to signing notes as long as I was connected with the bank, and it tried my patience almost beyond endurance.

On the first day of January, 1857, the Bank of the State of Indiana, with a capital of two millions of dollars, soon to be increased to three millions, commenced its short but honorable career. In the negotiations between the buyers and sellers, three of the branches were not included in the sale, and these remained in the hands of the original owners. Respectable and intelligent men they were, but I soon discovered that their notions of banking were widely different from mine. To them a bank was an institution, the officers and directors of which were to be privileged borrowers. Time and discipline, and, in one instance, the exercise of the plenary power of the Board of Control (the directors of the bank) were required to make such men comprehend the simple but all-important principle that lenders and borrowers could not safely be the same persons, and that in this bank men whose necessities or business required that they should be borrowers from the branches ought not to be, and would not be permitted to be, their managers. Bank failures are invariably the result of a disregard of this rule. No bank in the United States, the capital of which was a cash reality, and whose managers were not thieves or the borrowers of its money, has ever failed. All bank failures are fraudulent, either by mismanagement or deception in regard to capital, and all who are responsible for

such failures are betrayers of trusts, and should be punished as criminals.

The year in which the Bank of the State commenced business opened for it auspiciously. Known to be under the control of the same men who had so successfully managed the affairs of its predecessor, its credit was high from the start. Business was active, and the circulation and discount lines of the branches rapidly expanded under a healthy demand for money. At the meeting of the Board of Control in Indianapolis on the second Monday of August, the reports of the examiners of the branches were carefully scrutinized, and the general condition of the bank was as carefully considered. All but three of the branches were under excellent management, with ample means for a liberal increase of their discounts to meet the usual autumnal demand for money. An abundant wheat crop had been harvested, and the later crops were unusually promising. The commercial outlook was assuring; there was not a cloud in sight to indicate a financial storm, and the board adjourned with the understanding between the directors that all legitimate demands for money should be met, as far as might be practicable. Scarcely, however, had the board adjourned and the directors left the city, when I received a telegram from Winslow, Lanier & Co., which announced the suspension of the Ohio Life and Trust Company of Cincinnati, one of the largest financial institutions of the West, with an agency in New York. A few minutes after I received another telegram, advising me that the suspension would be only temporary. This was soon followed by another, in these words: "Suspension a failure, and a bad one." The intelligence was astounding. It was a bolt from a cloudless sky. The Ohio Life and Trust Company had enjoyed the highest credit. Its home business had been managed in the most careful manner. It had been distinguished for its conservatism. Its directors, who were among its largest stockholders, met every day to pass upon the offering for discount. Not a bill or note, no matter

how small, was discounted without their approval. It had thus acquired a high reputation, and secured large deposits. But while its business was being thus carefully and judiciously conducted at home, its agent in New York, who, strangely enough, had been clothed with unlimited powers, was engaged in speculative operations on a gigantic scale, by which the entire capital and surplus of the bank, and a large part of the money of its depositors, were hopelessly lost.

The bank was ruined by its New York agent, while its directors supposed it to be perfectly sound and eminently prosperous. The failure of this bank created a panic, the sharpest and most widespread that had ever been known. It came without premonition; it was a financial sirocco which at once dried up the springs of confidence and faith. Those who had money held it with the grip of misers. Trust ceased; confidence between men, confidence in everything but money, and hard money at that, disappeared. Men who were worth millions could not raise the few thousands that were needed to save them from discredit. Distrust, as general as it was causeless, pervaded the country. All of the Eastern banks except the Chemical Bank of New York, which weathered the storm twenty years before, and all of the Western banks except the Kentucky banks and the Bank of the State of Indiana, suspended specie payments. All of the private banking houses of which I had any knowledge except that of Allen Hamilton & Co., at Fort Wayne, in which I was a partner, and one or two in Indianapolis, were compelled to close their doors. It is true that the State Bank of Ohio continued nominally to redeem its notes, but only nominally. Its capital was locked up in the Ohio Life and Trust Company, and it was so crippled by the failure of that bank that even the brokers forbore to return its notes. The Kentucky banks did not suspend, but nearly all of their notes were issued by branches situated at places so remote from the principal thoroughfares that they were not often visited by brokers or their runners. To the branches of

the Bank of the State of Indiana there was no such protection. All of its branches were accessible by rail, and in two or three days after the failure of the Life and Trust Company, their notes commanded a premium over the notes of all other Western banks. In a couple of weeks the premium reached three per cent. over the notes of the Kentucky banks, and five per cent. over the notes of the State Bank of Ohio, in Cincinnati, which was then the financial centre of the West. As a consequence the notes of the Bank of the State flowed rapidly thither, and were as rapidly sent home for coin.

My position was a trying one. The charter was very valuable, and it became subject to forfeiture upon the failure of the bank to meet its obligations in coin. The manner in which it had been obtained precluded any well-grounded hope that a suspension of specie payments would be sanctioned by the legislature. There was really no alternative. Specie payments must be maintained, or the charter would be forfeited. There was no danger of large calls for coin from depositors. Many of them were borrowers, and there was a tacit understanding between the branches and their customers that deposits of bank notes were payable in bank notes. There was, however, apparently great danger that some of the branches might be unable, without assistance from other branches, to redeem their notes in coin. I received each day at my office at Indianapolis, by telegraph or messenger from each branch, a statement of its redemption and of its coin and other cash means. For three or four weeks the calls upon the branches were so continuous and heavy that it seemed probable that their entire circulation would be sent home; but this extremity was not reached. In the fifth week of the panic there was an improvement in the financial outlook. Gold failed to command such a premium in New York as to make it profitable for the brokers of Cincinnati to assort and return the notes of the most remote branches. Calls upon the neighboring branches continued for a week or two longer, and then

ceased altogether. The crisis had been passed—the charter was safe. In two months from the commencement of the panic some of the strongest of the branches resumed their usual business. In three months all were under full headway, and with credit strengthened and improved by the manner in which they had met their obligations. From that time to the commencement of the civil war the business of the bank was healthy and prosperous.

South Carolina led the way in the attempted secession of the Southern States. Her example was soon followed by other States, but there was no financial disturbance, until it became apparent that the nation was to be involved in a civil war, the extent and duration of which could not be foreseen. For a considerable time, even after the war had begun, the specie standard was maintained, and hopes were indulged that the war might be prosecuted on a specie basis. These hopes were dissipated by the action of Secretary Chase in his dealings with the New York, Philadelphia and Boston banks, which had agreed to advance to the Government on its seven and three-tenth notes $150,000,000 ($50,000,000 in August, $50,000,000 in October, and $50,000,000 in November, 1861), under the expectation that the Treasury drafts for the money would be presented through the clearing-houses, and be paid without large reductions of their coin. The Secretary did not, however, feel at liberty to meet their expectations, and the drain upon their coin reserve soon became so heavy that they were forced to suspend specie payments. Their suspension was soon followed by the suspension of nearly all the banks in the country. As a consequence, specie commanded a premium, and the directors of the Bank of the State of Indiana were not slow in coming to the conclusion that the circulation of the bank must be retired. The premium which specie commanded at Cincinnati was small, but it was large enough to induce the brokers of that city to assort and send home the notes of the branches for

gold, which was then the only legal tender in circulation. There was no panic, but property of nearly all descriptions began to be depressed in market value, and a feeling of distrust pervaded the country. The managers of the branches were therefore instructed to redeem promptly in coin all notes that might be presented; to anticipate and prevent their return, as far as might be practicable, by taking them up at commercial points with other cash means; to make arrangements with depositors by which deposits of gold should be paid in gold, deposits of bank notes should be paid in bank notes, and to be thus prepared for any crisis that might occur. These instructions were promptly obeyed. In a few weeks the larger part of the circulating notes of the branches were at rest in their vaults, and the business of the branches was reduced to what could be safely done upon their capitals and deposits. It was, of course, impossible that this should have been effected without inconvenience to borrowers and interruption to trade; but the action of the bank directors was judicious, and it commanded the approbation of even those who were incommoded by it. The business of the bank was thus conducted until some time after the passage of the legal-tender acts of 1862, and the legal-tender notes had become a substitute for coin. The question, Can these notes be lawfully used by the branches of the Bank of the State in the redemption of their circulating notes? then became a question of great interest, not only to the bank, but to the State. By the charter, the obligations of the bank could be discharged only by coin. The legal-tender notes had been declared by Congress to be lawful money in all payments, except at the custom-houses. Could they be regarded as lawful money in the discharge of the coin obligations of the bank? This question could only be decided by the Supreme Court of the State, and it was quite important that a decision should be made before any risk had been incurred. I therefore waited upon Judge Perkins, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who was

not only eminent as a judge, but a Democrat of the strictest order, explained to him the condition of the bank, and that its inability to maintain circulation upon a gold basis (gold then being at a premium over legal-tender notes) was preventing it from doing what it was important it should do in aid of the business of the State. I informed him that all the other banks of the country were treating the legal-tender notes (greenbacks, as they were called,) as lawful money, and using them in the discharge of their coin obligations, and that the Bank of the State was desirous of doing the same, if it would not be in violation of the requirements of its charter; and I then asked him whether the Supreme Court, if the question should be presented in a case involving it, would order the case to be advanced upon the docket, in order that a decision might be expected at an early day. Without a moment's hesitation, he replied that he could not answer for his associates, but that he thought the question a very important one, and that he had very little doubt that such an order would be made. The next day a fifty-dollar note, issued by the branch at Indianapolis, was presented for payment in coin. Instead of coin, legal-tender notes were offered in payment, which were refused. A suit was immediately commenced against the bank in the Circuit Court, and as the question involved was regarded by the judge as one of great public interest, the case took precedence of all others. As the facts were agreed upon by the counsel on both sides, the trial was a short one. I do not now recollect how the case was decided by the Circuit judge, but an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, and the case was, on motion of Mr. Joseph McDonald, counsel for the bank, advanced upon the docket and immediately taken up. Arguments on both sides were listened to with great interest (the argument of Mr. McDonald was a very ingenious and able one), and in the course of a week or two the court decided (there was no dissenting opinion) that the legal-tender acts were constitutional; that the United States notes were lawful money, and could be

used by the bank in the payment of its notes without a violation of its charter. It is my impression that this decision was the first decision by a court of high standing in favor of the power of Congress to make anything but gold and silver lawful money. This decision was a very advantageous one to the bank, as it enabled it not only to extend its business, but to strengthen its position. At the next meeting of the board of directors, I advised that the notes which had been so long resting in the vaults of the branches should be put into active use. As, however, I feared that the war in which the country was engaged would be protracted, and might cause a large appreciation of gold or depreciation of the legal-tender notes, if not great financial disturbance, I also advised that every dollar of the means of the branches not absolutely needed in their regular business should be used in the purchase of gold. This advice was followed. The premium on gold was then only about one and a half per cent., so that no great expense was incurred by the branches in raising their gold reserve to a very high point. When I resigned the presidency of the bank in April, 1863, it held $3,300,000 in gold on a capital of $3,000,000. As the premium on gold soon after rapidly advanced it is not necessary for me to say that the profits of the branches from this source were quite satisfactory to their stockholders.

Upon the passage of the act of Congress by which notes of all banks except those of the national banks were subjected to a ten per cent. tax, the Bank of the State went into liquidation. Its career was short, but fortunate. It fully maintained the credit of its predecessor. If it was conceived in sin, as was charged by Governor Wright, who vetoed the bill creating it, it brought forth in a large measure the fruits of a well-conducted business.

In closing what I have to say about banking in Indiana, I cannot forbear to refer to the action of the New Orleans banks towards their Northern correspondents at the outbreak

of the civil war. The Southern branches had large dealings with men who were engaged in the Southern (Mississippi) trade, and when measures were being instituted for the secession of Louisiana from the Union, and, indeed, after the ordinance of secession had been adopted, these branches had large cash balances and large amounts of commercial paper in the New Orleans banks. Against the remonstrances of the secession leaders, and in disregard of threatened violence, these cash balances and the proceeds of the commercial paper as it matured were remitted for according to directions—not a dollar was withheld. No more able and honorably conducted banks existed in the Union than were those in New Orleans before the war, nor was mercantile honor anywhere of a higher tone than in that city. There was a good deal of demoralization during the war, and much more for eight or ten years after the war terminated, but the good seed that had been sown there during the period of her great prosperity and commercial supremacy in the West had taken too deep root to be lost. Few advocates of repudiation have been found among her bankers and merchants and large tax-payers. If *they* could have controlled the legislation of the State, her honor would not have been impaired. Railroads have deprived New Orleans of the monopoly of Western traffic, and she has been outstripped in population and business by Cincinnati, St. Louis and Chicago, but she is rapidly regaining her credit, and as long as the Mississippi bears upon its waters a considerable part of the productions of the immense region which it drains, she will be a great and prosperous city. Not only was the spirit of her citizens displayed in her recent exposition, but the productive power of the country which is naturally tributary to her was there so exhibited as to establish confidence in her future and continued growth. No Western man who knew New Orleans when she was the great city of the West, the only accessible market for the productions of an immense region, can fail to be interested in her welfare.

CHAPTER XIII.

Henry Ward Beecher—He becomes the Pastor of a New-School Presbyterian Church at Indianapolis—The Character of his Sermons—Manner of Preparing Them—Touching Address at Fort Wayne—His Power as a Speaker—His Speeches at Liverpool and London—At the Height of his Career in 1863—His Influence as a Preacher, and his Personal Character—His Encounter with a Constable at Indianapolis—His Employment Outside of the Pulpit—Not a Partisan—Dr. Lyman Beecher—His Ride to Fort Wayne—His Pleasant Manners.

ONE of the earliest, and in many respects the pleasantest, of the acquaintances which I formed in Indiana, was that of Henry Ward Beecher, who in 1839, on the invitation of Samuel Merrill, president of the State Bank, and a few other prominent citizens of Indianapolis, left Lawrenceburg, where he had been preaching for two or three years, to become the first pastor of a New-School Presbyterian Church at the capital of the State. There was not more than a dozen members when he took charge of it, but it grew rapidly in membership until 1847, when he accepted a call to Brooklyn. It had then become numerically one of the largest in the city, but its increase was not to any considerable extent at the expense of the other churches. The congregation was largely made up of men and women who were not and had not been members of any church, who were attracted by the novelty and earnestness of Mr. Beecher's preaching. His sermons, both in style and topics, were quite different from those which had been heard from Presbyterian pulpits. They were in some respects like those of the presiding elders of the Methodist Church, but broader, less doctrinal, and much more varied in subjects. It was religion, not theology, that was preached by Mr. Beecher. Christianity was, in his estimation, the moral purifier of the

world. Adapted to all conditions of mankind, it was the only foundation upon which social order and free Government could safely rest. The religion of which he was the advocate was not a system of doctrines, belief in which was necessary for either present or future happiness; but a system of which love was the corner-stone, and active benevolence, unselfish efforts for the well-being of others, and personal purity were the legitimate results. In copiousness of language and faculty of illustration he excelled all men whom I have heard. He was one of the very few preachers who could be followed and understood by everybody. He was never above the level of ordinary comprehension, and he rarely offended the most highly cultivated taste by language of a low order.

Except for extraordinary occasions Mr. Beecher's sermons were not elaborately prepared. They were rather the outcome of observation in his walks and in his intercourse with the people than of his study of books. They were premeditated, but his notes were not written until within a few hours before the sermons were delivered. These notes consisted of as many sentences as there were subjects to be dealt with; a single sentence on each subject. They were thus prepared, he said, in order that he "might be fairly started, kept on the right track, and not be led off on a false scent." His sermons, I have said, were premeditated; but for some of them, and for some of his addresses, there was little or no opportunity for premeditation. These were, however, among the most effective that he delivered. I recollect one especially. He had come from Indianapolis to Fort Wayne, where I was living, to assist his father (who had come from Cincinnati) in the organization of a church of which his brother Charles was to be the pastor. He reached Fort Wayne late in the afternoon after a hard day's ride on horseback, and immediately after his arrival he was hurried off to meet some ten or fifteen men and women who were to become members of the new church, and a number of citizens besides, who felt an interest in this religious enterprise. The meeting

was in a private house, and the room was well filled, as it was expected that Mr. Beecher would be present, and if present, that he would speak. He did not disappoint them. After some business connected with the organization services had been transacted, Mr. Beecher arose, read a few passages from the New Testament, and made an address in language so beautiful and appropriate, in a voice so tender and affectionate, that all present were spellbound, and when he closed there was not a dry eye except his own in the room.

One day Mr. Beecher was called upon unexpectedly to attend, at the wretched place where he died, the funeral of a man who had long been a drunkard. The deceased had no family, but he had a large number of friends, who had assembled to show their regard for him. Blear-eyed, hard-faced men were nearly all of them, such men as Mr. Beecher had never seen together; such as only a man like Mr. Beecher could reach; but wretched and degraded as they had become, there was something of their better nature still left, and this was open to the warnings and the appeals of the speaker. They had never been spoken to as he spoke to them; not as outcasts, but as men. They felt the justice of his rebukes, their hearts responded to his affectionate entreaties. All wept like children; two became temperate men. "I never felt," said Mr. Beecher, some time after, "I never felt God's helping hand as I did when I addressed a score of drunkards at a drunkard's funeral."

Mr. Beecher was one of the rare speakers who carry their audiences along with them irresistibly. Such was his ardor, his earnestness, his unquestionable sincerity, his copiousness of language, his personal magnetism, that his listeners were too much under his control to be critical. He loved his pulpit, and was always at home there; but he seemed to be equally at home upon the platform, where some of his most powerful addresses were delivered. As a platform orator he had no equal except Wendell Phillips. His language was less classic

than that of Phillips, and his style was less perfect, but he had more endurance and vitality, and his devotion to the cause which he advocated never made him unjust to those from whom he differed. His grandest addresses were delivered during the civil war, when his intellectual and physical powers were at their highest level. In those which he delivered in Liverpool and London in 1863, he had opportunities for the display to the fullest extent of his wit, his aptness in repartee, his tact, his perfect self-control, his physical endurance, and his overmastering power as a speaker; and these opportunities were so improved by him as to check the current of English sympathy which had been flowing towards those who were in arms against their government, and to make him an idol to his loyal countrymen. When he returned to the United States in the autumn of 1863, he was at the height of his career. He was then more loved and honored than any man of his day. His sky was then cloudless. It did not continue so, but those who knew him best never lost faith in him, or doubted the purity of his character. The manner in which the report of his death was received throughout the country showed how strong was his hold upon the hearts of his countrymen. Mr. Beecher was not only the most popular, but the most influential preacher that this country has produced. He did more than any other man to liberalize religious sentiment, to lift orthodox theology out of the ruts in which it had been running from the days of the Puritans. His sermons were very rarely doctrinal. He was in no respect a theologian. He cared little for creeds. Belief with him was a matter of secondary importance; conduct was everything. He had a decided taste for horticulture, and one of his most intimate acquaintances was a man (Aldrich, I think his name was,) who had a fine nursery and garden near Indianapolis. "I like him," said Mr. Beecher to me one day, "I like him because he loves flowers as I do, and I have a great admiration of him because he is one of the honestest men that I have ever met. I have made him a study. He is always

what he appears to be—a perfectly upright man. Nothing would induce him to swerve from the truth, and yet he is an infidel, a disbeliever in the Bible and a future life. I wish that I and my church members were more like him."

I was very intimate with Mr. Beecher as long as he lived in Indianapolis. His brother Charles was the pastor of the New-School church at Fort Wayne, of which my wife was a member. He was frequently at my house. I once travelled with him on horseback from Fort Wayne to Indianapolis, when it took full three days to make the trip; stopped with him at the same taverns, and slept in the same rooms with him. To me he was an open book. If there had been anything wrong about him, I should have discovered it. He was incapable of disguise, and I never heard a sentiment from him that the strictest moralist could object to. His vitality was immense, his jollity at times irrepressible. He was physically very strong. His health was perfect, his buoyancy of spirits unflagging. I recollect how he sang and shouted as we rode through the woods together, how admirably he mimicked preachers who seemed to think that sanctimonious countenances and whining tones were the indications of zealous faith. To Mr. Beecher, religion was joyousness, Christianity the agency by which men were to be made not only better but happier. "Some people," said he, "think that I am not solemn enough in the pulpit, nor staid or reverent enough out of it. I wonder what they would think if I should act just as I feel."

Mr. Beecher gave proof of his pluck in his encounters with secessionists and sympathizers with the South in Liverpool and London. It was sometimes tested in a different way. The people of Indiana before the war, if not pro-slavery in sentiment, were, with few exceptions, opposed to all anti-slavery movements, and the negroes who came to the State were frequently the subjects of barbarous treatment. One day there was what was called a negro riot in Indianapolis, in which some inoffensive colored people were driven from their homes

and treated with savage inhumanity. A leader of the rioters, whose behavior towards these people was especially infamous, was a constable. Mr. Beecher, upon being informed of his conduct, denounced it in his usual emphatic manner. This came to the ears of the constable, who expressed his determination to hold Mr. Beecher responsible. "Beecher must take back what he has said about me, or I'll lick him within an inch of his life." The next day as Mr. Beecher was walking leisurely by the constable's office, the constable opened the door and asked Mr. Beecher to step in. The office was near the principal hotel of the city, and some young men who had heard of the constable's threats, and happened to be standing upon the sidewalk, gathered around the door to see, as they said, the fun. The constable was a big, brawny fellow, and as Mr. Beecher entered he advanced to meet him, and said in a rough voice, "I understand, Mr. Beecher, that you have said so and so about me," repeating the offensive language. "Did you say that, sir?" "I don't think I said exactly that, but it was about what I meant to say," replied Mr. Beecher, as he looked the constable steadily in the face. "You're a d——d liar, sir, and if you were not a preacher I would lick you like a dog," said the constable. "Dismiss all considerations of that kind; I ask no favor on that score," responded Mr. Beecher. The constable looked at the stoutly-built, sturdy man who stood before him without flinching, and concluded that it was safer to threaten than to strike. Mr. Beecher listened for a moment to the constable's oaths, then left the office, saying as he went out, "Good-bye, Mr. Constable, you will feel better when you cool off." The bystanders clapped their hands as Mr. Beecher stepped upon the sidewalk, and it was a long time before the constable heard the last of his interview with Mr. Beecher. "What would you have done," I asked Mr. Beecher, "if the constable had attempted to make good his threats?" "I should have warded off his blows and laid him upon his back in no time. I knew if I was not

stronger that I was quicker and a better wrestler than he was, and I was sure that he could not have stood before me for an instant. I should have been sorry to have had a contest with such a fellow, but I could not stand and be whipped," was Mr. Beecher's reply.

Few of Mr. Beecher's hearers could understand how he acquired knowledge without study. It was understood that he had not been a hard student at Amherst College, nor at the Theological Seminary at Cincinnati. In Indianapolis he had nothing that could be called a library. He seemed to care very little for books, and he had no time to give to them. He sawed his wood, milked and took care of his cow, groomed and fed his horse, and with his own hands made the best and largest garden in the city. At the same time he prepared and delivered a course of lectures to young men, and made many addresses at various places. He was the sole editor of a horticultural weekly paper, and was always ready to lend a helping hand to his neighbors in the improvement of their yards and lawns. The taste for landscape gardening, for which the householders of Indianapolis were afterwards distinguished, was the outcome of Mr. Beecher's work and teaching. Notwithstanding all this, he rarely failed to preach three sermons a week, which were not only beautiful in language and striking in thought, but apparently the result of careful study ; and so they were—not of books, but of men and things and of his extraordinary power of observation. If a stranger had noticed him upon the streets or in the country, he would have thought from his impassive face that he was woolgathering, while he was noticing everything about him, learning as he went. If he spent a day or two in a town which he had never before visited, he would know more about it, its people and its business, than those who had been there for years. His mind was constantly at work, and its grasp was quick and clear. He read newspapers to know what was going on, but he did not give much time to them. Men, their characters and their

occupations, were his study. His thoughts and observations included everything in which his people were or ought to be interested, and consequently his sermons embraced a great variety of subjects. Nothing which affected their welfare socially or politically was, in his judgment, out of place in sermons. Worldly topics, which most clergymen considered improper to be discussed in the pulpit, were just those which Mr. Beecher loved to discuss, and in discussing them he gave full play to his humor and wit, which were only less effective than his pathos.

Mr. Beecher was an independent thinker, and although he never doubted the correctness of his own conclusions, he was free from uncharitableness and intolerance. While he was at Indianapolis the theological war between the Old and New School churches was carried on with great acrimony. In the opinion of the Old School people, the believers in the New School doctrines were heretics, and Mr. Beecher, as one of the most prominent of the New School leaders, was the subject of unparalleled abuse; but he never indulged in retaliation. I never heard from him a word that savored of unkindness towards those whom he knew to be his assailants. He was also free from egotism. He must have been conscious of his great powers. He was building up a church with great rapidity; he perceived that he was listened to with attention by some of the most intellectual men in the State; he had good reason to believe that his sermons were making deep impressions upon minds that had never before been interested in religious subjects; he knew that he was regarded, young as he was, as being one of the most effective preachers in the West; but he never seemed to be elated. I heard him speak but twice of himself as a speaker; once when he referred to the effect of his remarks at the drunkard's funeral, and once when he spoke of the first sermon that he preached in his father's presence. "I was," he said, referring to this sermon, "embarrassed at the start, but I soon got over that, and perceiving that I was

commanding the attention of the audience, I warmed up with my subject, and you can judge how happy I was when, looking around, I saw that my father, who sat behind me, was in tears. It was one of my first sermons, and I had made my father cry."

Mr. Beecher wrote a great deal, and usually with great ability; but it is upon his talents and accomplishments as a preacher that his fame will most securely rest. Few of his sermons were what might be called finished productions, but they abounded in eloquent passages, in striking illustrations, in original ideas. They were instructive as well as captivating. No man has ever been heard by so many people, no man of the present century has expressed so many loving thoughts, or touched so many hearts, or influenced so many lives, or done so much to soften theological austerities, and liberalize religious sentiment, as Henry Ward Beecher.

When I went to the West in 1833, I had, besides those I have named, letters of introduction to Dr. Lyman Beecher, Henry Ward's father. He was then engaged in ministerial work as the pastor of a New School church in Cincinnati, and in the establishment of a theological school (Lane Seminary) in that vicinity. My interview with him was short, and I did not meet him again until he went to Fort Wayne, in 1844, to assist in the ordination of his son Charles. He left Cincinnati Thursday in a canal boat, expecting to reach Fort Wayne on the following Saturday, but he made slower progress than he had anticipated, and before half his journey had been completed he discovered that by the canal he could not reach Fort Wayne in season to be present at his son's ordination. He therefore determined to leave the canal boat at St. Mary's and complete his journey (a distance of sixty miles) on horseback, which he did. He left St. Mary's Friday evening just as the sun was going down; rode all night, and reached my house, at Fort Wayne, the next afternoon. He was covered from foot to head with mud, but was far from being exhausted by

his long and tiresome ride. Immediately after his arrival he asked if he could have some whiskey to "rub himself down with," as he said. The whiskey was sent to his room, and soon after he joined the family, apparently as fresh as if he had been resting for hours. Dr. Beecher was then about seventy years old, and was quite unaccustomed to the saddle, and yet so strong and hardy was he that he rode all night and a good part of the next day over one of the worst roads in the West without exhibiting weariness. To my inquiry how he got on during the night he replied: "Comfortably enough, but I should not if my horse had not known more about roads than I did. I clung to the saddle, gave him the rein, and he brought me through all right."

I had known Dr. Beecher before I left New England as one of the vigorous assailants of Unitarianism, and I had expected to find him uncongenial if not austere; but he proved to be one of the most social and agreeable of men. He spent a number of days at my house, and I became strongly attached to him. I had known him in the pulpit as an earnest, intolerant, and always logical preacher. It did not take me long to discover that out of it he abounded in sympathy, in geniality, in good-will for everybody. He seemed to be happy in throwing off restraint and indulging his natural taste. Fort Wayne was then a small town, and on the opposite side of the river, but near my house, was the forest, the sight of which revived the habit which had been formed in his early life. "I must have a run through the woods," he said to me one morning, "and if there is any game there, and you will let me have a gun and plenty of powder and shot, I will see what I can do as a sportsman." The gun and ammunition were ready. He started for the woods by himself, and before noon he returned with a rabbit and a pigeon, as much delighted with his achievement as a boy usually with his first success in hunting. The rabbit was cooked according to his directions, and he seemed overjoyed by his contribution to the family dinner.

Dr. Beecher had the reputation of being the father of more brains than any other man in the country. As far as I know he merited the reputation. His six sons and four daughters were very unlike in talents and in their leading characteristics; but there was not an ordinary one among them.

CHAPTER XIV.

Mr. Lincoln's Election a Pretext for Secession—South Carolina and Nullification—Mr. Buchanan's Conservatism—Slavery—Northern and Southern Views of the Constitution—Expectation of Secessionists in Regard to Action of Border States—Opposition to Coercion in Some of the Free States—Dark Days between November, 1860, and April, 1861—Slavery the Question which Statesmen were Unable to Handle—Defeat at Bull Run Unexpected—Demoralization at Washington after the Battle—Subsequent Defeats Created no Dismay—Platform upon which McClellan was Nominated for the Presidency—Mr. Lincoln's Remarks Upon It.

THE election of Mr. Lincoln was only the proximate cause of the attempted secession of the Southern States from the Union. If Mr. Douglas or Mr. Breckenridge had been elected, the decision of the question of the right of a State to withdraw its allegiance from the Federal Government would have been merely postponed. There had been, from the adoption of the Constitution, a difference of opinion between the leading men of the Northern and those of the Southern States upon this important and fundamental question. It was one that could be settled neither by Congress nor the Supreme Court. It was practically an open question, and the leading statesmen of the South were quite willing that it should remain so until a certain crisis should arise which would consolidate the Southern States, and justify the exercise of their sovereignty in withdrawing from the Union and establishing an independent Government. South Carolina had placed her sovereignty in opposition to the authority of the Federal Government by attempting to nullify an act of Congress creating higher tariff than was needed for revenue. The tariff question, however, was a question upon which there was a lack of unanimity among the Southern people, and the other Southern

States did not sympathize with South Carolina in the stand which she took. Nullification was stamped out by President Jackson's celebrated proclamation, and his well-known determination to execute the law, no matter how strong the opposition might be to it. Whether the secession movement would have been crushed before it had made such headway if General Jackson, or a man of equally fiery temperament and unconquerable will, had been President, is at least questionable. General Jackson, although the idol of the Democratic Party, and for many years its leader, was not, upon the question of State rights, a Democrat. The proclamation to which I have referred was a clear and vigorous presentation of old-time Federalism. Mr. Buchanan, who commenced his public life as a Federalist, and who said in one of his early speeches that if there were a drop of Democratic blood in his veins he would let it out, became in his mature years a Democrat of the deepest dye—a strict constructionist of the Constitution—a sturdy advocate of the doctrine that all powers not absolutely granted to Congress were reserved by the States. The characters of the two men were as different as were their opinions in regard to the authority of the Government and the rights of the States. Jackson was quick in deciding and prompt in action, more apt to exceed his authority than to fall short of its exercise. He never shrank from the performance of what he considered his duty to the people, even if the legality of his actions might be questionable. He was brave, patriotic and honest, but arbitrary and aggressive. Mr. Buchanan was equally honest and patriotic, but he gave to the Constitution very strict construction, and he seemed to be more careful to avoid infringement of the rights of the States than to maintain the rightful authority of the Government. He was better fitted for the Senate than the Presidency—better fitted to make laws than to execute them. Nevertheless he would have made a good President in ordinary times. He was learned, courteous, of spotless integrity, and in all respects a gentleman. Indeed,

until near its close, his administration was creditable to himself and satisfactory to the country; but he lacked the nerve, the decision, the self-reliance, which were needed when he was called upon to meet so portentous a matter as the threatened disruption of the Union. He hesitated to act, when hesitation was perilous to the peace of the country. He discussed with his cabinet—every member of which, except General Cass, was in sympathy with the South, if not with the secessionists—the questions of State rights and of the authority of the Government to enforce its laws by military power, while South Carolina was instituting measures to withdraw from the Union, and taking possession of all the property of the United States which was within her reach. Still, as I have said, it is by no means certain that secession would have been crushed in its incipient stages if a more resolute man than Mr. Buchanan had been in his place. The slavery question was a far different question from that of a tariff. It was one on which there was very little difference of opinion among the leading men of the South. There were, it is true, a few Southern men who were opposed to slavery, but they generally kept their opinions to themselves. Indeed, for some years before the war no one could safely utter anti-slavery sentiments in the Southern States: to be suspected of entertaining them was sufficient to consign a man to social ostracism, if it did not expose him to personal violence. It was the one subject upon which there could be no discussion in the slave States. It was the apprehension of slave-owners that their property might not be sufficiently protected under the Constitution, that made them converts to and advocates of the doctrine that the Union was a federal Union, or compact of States, from which any State might peaceably withdraw—that the allegiance of a citizen of a State was primarily due to the State, not to the United States; a doctrine which had been taught in Southern schools and colleges, and even churches, until the entire South had been so permeated by it that upon this point the Southern States were substantially a unit.

On the other hand, the almost universal sentiment of the North was, that the United States was a nation; that the Constitution had been adopted for the very purpose of creating a nationality which should be independent of the States in its action, and absolute in its rightful authority; that all acts of Congress were to be obeyed until they had been declared to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court; that the Union could only be dismembered by a successful revolution. Such was the conflict of opinion between the sections, a conflict which was terminated and could only be terminated by the sword. That the leaders in secession had contemplated war as a possible if not probable result of their attempt to divide the Union, there is no reason to doubt. They did not, however, anticipate a general uprising of the people of the Middle and Western States in defence of the Union. They confidently expected that Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland would unite with the other States in which slavery existed, and that Illinois, Indiana and Ohio would give reluctant and but partial aid to the Federal Government if coercive measures should be resorted to for its support. For these expectations there were apparently good reasons. The most prominent men in Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland, if not disunionists, were more attached to slavery than to the Union, while their people generally were bound to the people of the Southern States by family or commercial ties. What might be called the civilization of these central States was widely different from that of the Northern States, and they would undoubtedly have joined the South if they had not been prevented by the prompt and energetic measures of the Government. The disposition of the people of Maryland was indicated by the treatment which a Massachusetts regiment received as it passed through Baltimore, and the war was nearly ended before the presence of Union troops was regarded with as much favor in Maryland as was the presence of the Confederates. At the commencement of the war, Missouri was in open revolt, and desperate battles were fought upon her

soil before she could be prevented from casting her lot with the South. The same influences which were at work in Missouri and Maryland were potent also in Kentucky. I happened to be in Louisville, which in early days was called the Yankee city of the West, from the number of New England men who were in business there, when South Carolina adopted the ordinance of secession, and my conclusion was that the action of Kentucky in this regard would depend upon that of the other slave-holding States. I had conversations with many Louisville merchants and bankers, who were much troubled by the proceedings of South Carolina. They expressed deep regret at what they called her rashness and folly, and they evidently contemplated the future with anxious forebodings; but to my question, "On which side will Kentucky stand in case other Southern States shall follow the example of South Carolina and war shall be the consequence?" "Kentucky will stand with them," was the reply. "Her interests and sympathies are in that direction, and when they go she will go also." The secession leaders, who were well informed in regard to the sentiment of the dominant party in each of these States, had therefore good reason to expect that if the Government should undertake to save the Union by force, all of the slave-holding States would stand together. It is true that in both Missouri and Kentucky a strong Union sentiment was developed soon after hostilities had been commenced, and both furnished regiments which were greatly distinguished for their gallantry; but when the storm-clouds were merely gathering, and before a bolt had been discharged, the prevailing sentiment in both States was in the direction I have named, and both would have united with the South if they could have had their own way. Nor was the expectation unreasonable that the Western free States which bordered upon the Ohio and Mississippi rivers would yield but reluctant aid to the Government if it should resort to arms to enforce obedience to its authority. My duties as president of the Bank of the State required my presence at

Indianapolis when the Legislature of 1860–61 was in session, and I was astounded by the speeches of some of its most prominent members against what they called coercion—the coercion of sovereign States. In their opinion the Union was not worth preserving if it could only be preserved by force. Indiana, they asserted, would furnish no soldiers, nor would she permit soldiers from other States to pass through her territory for the subjugation of the South. One enthusiastic speaker to whom I listened, and who did good service to the Government as a colonel of an Indiana regiment, declared that armed coercionists would have to pass over his dead body before they crossed the Ohio River. This was very absurd, but it was listened to with favor, and it voiced the prevailing feeling of a strong minority, if not a majority, of the House. The sentiment of the people of southern Illinois was in sympathy with that of the people of southern Indiana. In fact, the leaders of the Democratic party in both States and some of the leading Republicans also were opposed to coercion. All this was well known throughout the South, and although it is now certain that the conflict could not have been long deferred, there can be no doubt that the Southern States were encouraged in their attempted secession by the expectation that the North would be so divided that the Government would be unable to prevent its dismemberment.

The darkest days for the Republic were between the election of Mr. Lincoln, in November, 1860, and the 13th of April, 1861. The hostility to slavery in the Northern States had been steadily increasing from the date of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The number of those who were disposed to disturb slavery in the States where it existed was small, but the number opposed to its extension was, throughout the free States, overwhelming. On the other hand, the South demanded that the Territories should be open to it without regard to the will of their inhabitants. The Southern members of Congress who voted for the repeal of

the compromise under which Missouri was admitted into the Union with slavery, did not so vote because they favored popular sovereignty, but to free the South from an odious restriction for which there was, in their opinion, no warrant in the Constitution. To them popular sovereignty was only another name for squatter sovereignty, which they held in contempt. That they should not be permitted to take their property into a Territory and retain it there after the Territory had become a State, merely because there happened to be a majority of the settlers—who, having little or nothing to take with them, could move more readily than slave-owners—opposed to slavery, seemed to them to be the height of injustice and absurdity. Kansas became a State in which slavery was prohibited after a struggle which created intense feeling in all parts of the country. It was in that State that the first blood was shed in what was really a contest between the sections. It was the result of this contest that convinced the South that slavery henceforth was to be confined to its existing boundaries, and that so strengthened the disunion sentiment that little provocation was needed to cause an open rupture. This provocation was found in the election of Mr. Lincoln. The political leaders in the Southern States had for many years regarded a division of the Union, on the line which separated the slave-holding States from the free, as something more than a contingency. They had, through emissaries who had visited Europe for the purpose of sounding the feelings and opinions of European statesmen, ascertained that the dismemberment of the Republic would be regarded with favor on that side of the Atlantic; and they thought that they were warranted in the expectation that if the Southern States should as a body undertake to resume the rights which they had surrendered in becoming States, and to form an independent government, recognition by at least France and England would speedily follow. They hoped that secession would be accomplished without war, but they intended that the South should

be prepared for war, if war should become inevitable, in which they were confident of success, a solid South being arrayed against a divided North.

While such was the condition of things in the South, the people of the Northern and Western States pursued their usual avocations quite unconscious of impending danger. The threats of secession by those who claimed to be the exponents of Southern sentiment were considered merely an offset to the denunciations of slavery, and of the Constitution which recognized it, by abolitionists. Most men in the North who had given the subject consideration were convinced that, in the language of Mr. Lincoln, the country could not permanently remain part slave and part free; and that slavery, inconsistent as it was with the principles upon which the Government was founded, must sooner or later give way to freedom, but how this was to be accomplished none could say. Slavery was the one great question which the boldest and ablest of Northern statesmen confessed themselves unable to deal with. Few, if any, however, regarded war as the means by which it was to be uprooted and the Union preserved. And so State after State followed the example of South Carolina, adopted ordinances of secession, took possession of all the property of the United States within their reach, and set the authority of the Federal Government at defiance. Indeed it seemed for a time that the Union was to perish without a blow being struck in its defence. In travelling through southern Indiana in the autumn of 1860 and the following winter, after South Carolina had passed the ordinance of secession, I was amazed and disheartened by the general prevalence of the non-coercive sentiment, the seeming indifference of the people to the danger to which the Government was exposed. As far as I could learn, the same opposition to coercion prevailed to a considerable extent in the other free States bordering upon the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and I could not help feeling that the Union, which I had regarded as being indissoluble, was without real strength or cohesiveness

—that it was destitute of self-sustaining power—that it had no deep hold upon the affections of the people. This feeling was of short duration. The report of the attack upon Fort Sumter was like an electric shock to a body seemingly dead, but full of vitality. In a day the current of sentiment throughout all of the non-slaveholding States was changed. Party lines were swept away—party divisions ceased. Men who had denounced coercion at once became its advocates; those who had spoken of the Union which could only be maintained by force as not being worth preserving, were now its champions and foremost in demanding its preservation, no matter what might be the cost.

I was not among those who supposed that the war would be a short one. I knew that the South was better prepared for war than the North, that there were no braver men in the world than in the Southern States, and that if they should be thoroughly united, time and superior numbers of equally gallant men would be required to conquer them. I expected that the struggle would be severe and expensive, but I had no expectation that it would be protracted as it was. I underrated the persistency of the Southern people. I did not suppose it to be possible that the war would continue for four long years, and until the resources of the South had become exhausted. The devotion of the people of the South to what they now acknowledge to have been a bad cause, and the sacrifices they made to sustain it, are without a parallel in history. Their persistent heroism commanded the world's respect, although displayed in efforts to destroy a government under which they had greatly prospered, and to establish one of their own of which slavery was to be the corner-stone. Fortunately for themselves and for the cause of liberty everywhere, their efforts were not crowned with success.

Although I had not looked for decided Union victories in the early stages of the war, I was quite unprepared for the defeat of the Union forces in the first battle, at Bull Run. At

one o'clock of the day on which that battle was fought, as I went from my office in Indianapolis to the Bates House for dinner, the boys were crying in the street, "Great battle at Bull Run—Rebels defeated." A glance at one of the slips which had been printed at the office of the Indianapolis *Journal* confirmed the cry of the venders. I did not shout as the boys did, although I felt like it, but I was overjoyed, as were the other guests, Democrats as well as Republicans. We drank to the health of each other, and especially to the health of the boys in blue. Jubilant were we all, and jubilant were the people in the streets. The joy was of short duration. In two or three hours after I had returned to my office I heard the boys crying again, as it seemed to me in a different tone. Opening my window, so that I might hear distinctly, my heart almost stopped beating as I heard the words, "Rebels reënforced—Union army badly beaten—Union soldiers fleeing for their lives—thousands cut down in their flight by the Black Horse Cavalry." From the "Mount of Delight" I was at once pretty near to the "Slough of Despond." There was no more shouting that day in the streets of Indianapolis, nor was there any over substantial Union victories for long, long, weary months.

Eight or ten days after this first Bull Run battle I visited Washington. My feelings when I left home were not buoyant; they were not improved by my visit. Washington seemed to me to be utterly demoralized. I did not see one really cheerful face, nor did I hear one encouraging word. The President was criticised; the manner in which the battle was fought was criticised; criticism was the order of the day. The gloom which this defeat of the Union army had cast over the North was concentrated in Washington. The battle had ended in a panic—the city was in a panic. Members of Congress and other civilians who had gone out to witness a Union victory had returned stricken with terror. If the Confederates had known the real condition of Washington,

and the character of its defences, they might have captured the city and placed their banners upon its public buildings. In the evening of the day on which I reached the city Mr. Lincoln held his last reception for the season. It was one of the hot days of Washington. The Executive Mansion was crowded. Large numbers of the officers of the army in full uniform were present. The President looked jaded and care-worn. Everybody seemed to be trying to be cheerful, but none were, except perhaps a few whose sympathies were with the South. The next morning I called with a few friends upon the President. He received us kindly, and tried to amuse us with anecdotes. I did not at that time know him well, and I was surprised that he should relate anecdotes when the Government of which he was the head seemed to be in imminent peril. I have to confess that I left Washington in a very despondent mood.

The reaction from the despondency into which the North was plunged by the result of the first battle of the war was slow, but it was sure and permanent. The defeat of the Union Army, disastrous as it was, was not without compensation. It opened to some extent the eyes of the people of the North to the greatness of the conflict in which the nation was engaged—to the necessity of united efforts for the preservation of the Government; it hushed party strife; it cemented the Union sentiment throughout the country. Thereafter there was no more despondency in the North. Many misfortunes followed, but devotion to the Union, and the determination to preserve it, were strengthened rather than weakened by them. The disaster at Ball's Bluff, where Senator Baker, distinguished alike for his eloquence and bravery, was slain—the reverses of the Army of the Potomac under General McClellan—the crushing blow which it received at Fredericksburg under General Burnside—its defeat in the second battle of Bull Run—sent bitter grief into thousands of households and cast gloom over the North; but

they caused neither dismay nor despondency. The determination of a vast majority of the people of all the free States to preserve the Government and the Union, no matter what might be the cost in treasure and blood, was never stronger than it was when the Democratic Convention at Chicago, in August, 1864, declared that the war had failed to accomplish the object for which it had been waged, and that hostilities should be discontinued, and nominated General McClellan for the Presidency upon a peace platform.

"I am here," said Mr. Lincoln, in one of the last conversations I had with him, "by the blunders of the Democrats. If, instead of resolving that the war was a failure, they had resolved that I was a failure and denounced me for not more vigorously prosecuting it, I should not have been reëlected, and I reckon that you would not have been Secretary of the Treasury."

CHAPTER XV.

My opposition to the National Banking System in 1862—Justin S. Morrill—Visit to the Eastern States—Am requested by Secretary Chase to become Comptroller of the Currency—My Connection with the Bank of the State of Indiana Dissolved—George W. Rathbone my Successor—Samuel T. Howard, Deputy Comptroller—Rules in Regard to Appointments—John Burroughs—Organization of the National Banks—Unwillingness of the State Banks to become National Banks, and the Reason therefor—Especial Objection to their being Known by Numerals—My successors as Comptroller of the Currency—Mr. Chase's Opinion of the Legal Tender Acts—First Case in regard to their Constitutionality—Appointments of Justices Strong and Bradley—Extracts from Judge Strong's Opinion in the Second Legal Tender Case—Decision in the First Legal Tender Case Overruled by the Second—The Third Legal Tender Case—Free Comments.

IN 1862 I went to Washington to oppose the passage of the bill to establish a national banking system, which, if it passed, might be greatly prejudicial to the State banks, of one of the largest of which I was president. One of the members of Congress with whom I had interviews was Justin S. Morrill, who was as much opposed to the bill as I was. My acquaintance with Mr. Morrill, thus commenced, proved to be not only pleasant but valuable. By the support which he gave to me during my administration of the Treasury Department, he placed me under obligations that I can never forget. No man is more worthy of the honors which have been conferred upon him—no man better merits the high reputation for uprightness and intelligence which he enjoys in the Senate and throughout the country, than Mr. Morrill.

In March, 1863, I was again in Washington. I had left home with my wife to be absent for a couple of weeks on a pleasure trip. I had been a hard worker without intermission for a quarter of a century, and so we decided that we

would make a flying visit to the Eastern cities, letting no one at home know where letters would reach us, in order that we might enjoy a few genuine holidays. In the afternoon of the day before we left Washington, we went through the Treasury Department. As I had no business to transact, and was not acquainted with Secretary Chase, I did not feel at liberty to call upon him, but as we passed by the door of his room, I handed my card to his messenger. The next morning we were on our way to Baltimore, where we spent a day very pleasantly. Thence we went to Philadelphia, New York and Plattsburg, where we had been married twenty-five years before, and were at home again within the time fixed for our return. Here, to my surprise, I found a number of telegrams, some of which had followed me from place to place, requesting me to return to Washington, and a letter from Mr. Chase, offering to me the position of Comptroller of the Currency, and expressing an earnest wish that I should accept it. My opinion in regard to the establishment of a national banking system underwent a change after the bill which I had opposed had been amended and become a law. It had become quite certain that the war was not to be brought to an early close, and that the expense of prosecuting it, already largely exceeding its anticipated cost when hostilities were commenced, must be enormously increased before it was ended. It was also equally certain that the notes of the State banks, imperfectly secured as most of them were, could not be safely received in the collection of the public revenues. I had therefore been forced to the conclusion that banks with a perfectly secured circulation, which would be current throughout the Union, were an absolute necessity, and a careful examination of the Bank Act had satisfied me that this necessity had been met by it. But I was president of a bank which I knew was sound to the core, and in whose welfare I was deeply interested. The offer of Mr. Chase, was therefore, not only unexpected, but embarrassing. I was wedded to the bank which I had worked hard

to place in a perfectly solvent condition. I could not resign the presidency of it without severing very agreeable official relations, nor without considerable pecuniary loss, and I had no desire to go to Washington. On the other hand, I had been forced to admit that there was a necessity for a national banking system, and I felt that the Government had a right to any services that I might be able to render in the tremendous struggle in which it was engaged. Being thus in a strait, I did what all men who have sensible wives ought to do, when important questions are to be considered and acted upon—I consulted my wife. The conclusion was that I should resign the presidency of the bank, and go to Washington to organize the National Currency Bureau, with the understanding, however, that I should remain in Washington no longer than might be necessary to give the new banking system a successful start. As soon as this conclusion was reached, I informed Mr. Chase that I would accept the office which he had so kindly tendered to me. This done, I called a special meeting of the board of directors of the Bank of the State, according to the requirements of its by-laws, at which, not without feelings of deep regret on my part, and, as I had good reason to think, on the part of the directors also, I resigned the presidency, and in a few days I was in Washington. My successor as president of the Bank of the State was George W. Rathbone, a gentleman of sound judgment and great aptitude for business, who held the office until the bank went into liquidation, and the branches were reorganized under the national banking system.

My interview with Mr. Chase, on my arrival at Washington, was very pleasant. I was most favorably impressed by his appearance, and by the clearness and directness with which he expressed his views upon the financial condition of the country, and the necessity of a paper currency, other than the United States notes, of undoubted solvency. He spoke of the national banking system as a measure of his

own, in the success of which he felt a very deep interest. As the interview was about to close, I said to him that I had but one request to make, which was, that as I was to be responsible for the proper organization and management of the bureau, which might become a very important one, I should have the selection of my clerks. To this he readily assented. "Manage," said he, "the bureau in your own way; when you need clerks, and as you need them, send their names to me and they will be appointed." This understanding was fully carried out. In no instance while I was Comptroller, was an appointment made for the bureau which was not at my request.

The organization of the bureau was undertaken with Samuel T. Howard, Deputy Comptroller, who proved to be by his executive abilities, intelligence and industry admirably fitted for the place; and two young ladies, Miss John, who died early, and Miss Wilson, now Mrs. McCormick, who, with the exception of a couple of years of married life, has ever since been employed in the bureau, and is one of the most meritorious of its numerous clerks. In the selection of clerks, my habit was to be governed by the appearance and manners of applicants rather than by the recommendations which they presented. One day a young man called at my office and said to me that he understood that the force of the bureau was to be increased, and that he should be glad to be employed. I asked him if he had any recommendations. "I have not," he replied; "I must be my own." I looked at his sturdy form and intelligent face, which impressed me so favorably that I sent his name to the Secretary, and the next day he was at work as a twelve hundred dollar clerk. I was not mistaken. He was an excellent clerk, competent, faithful, willing. Since then he has been a worker in a different field, and become a most captivating and instructive writer. I never see an article from the pen of John Burroughs, which I do not read with pleasure, and without calling to mind his appearance when he said to me, "I must be my own recommendation."

This was only one of many somewhat similar cases. I do not recollect an instance of appointments thus made that did not prove to have been judicious. The privilege which was granted to me as Comptroller was granted by me to the heads of bureaus while I was Secretary. It is one that ought not to be denied to those who are responsible for the manner in which important duties are to be performed. Especially should it not be denied to officers like the Treasurer and Assistant Treasurers of the United States, who are custodians of public moneys—who give bonds for the faithful discharge of their duties, and who are legally liable for losses that may happen through the mistake or dishonesty of their subordinates.

Considerable time was required after my appointment for the preparation of circulating notes and of forms to be used in the organization of banks, and for the consideration of the numerous details in the bureau, in order that the machinery might be in good running order when active business was commenced. Summer had come before the First National Bank was authorized to commence business. The First National of Philadelphia, took the lead, with a capital of $150,000. Its organization certificate was issued on the 20th of June. On the same day certificates were issued to the First National of New Haven, with a capital of $300,000; to the First National, of Youngstown, Ohio, with a capital of $150,000; to the First National of Stamford, Connecticut, with a capital of $300,000. On the 22d, a certificate was issued to the First National of Chicago (whose present business is larger than that of any other bank in the country), with a capital of $100,000 only; on the 13th of July, to the First National of Cincinnati, with a capital of $1,000,000. The organizations then increased rapidly, but mainly in the Middle and Western States. Most of the bankers in the large commercial cities of the East regarded the system with distrust. It did not "take" at the start, either in Boston, Philadelphia, or New York.

The First National Bank of New York, the richest banking mine ever opened in that city, was chartered on the 21st of July, with a capital of $200,000; the Second, on the 13th of August, with a capital of $300,000; the Third, on the 21st of September, with a capital of $500,000. No more were organized in New York until February 27, 1864, when the Fourth National was organized with a capital of $5,000,000. It is proper for me to remark that the banks which were organized with small capitals reserved the right to increase them, and in most cases they were from time to time largely increased. None of the large State banks were converted into national banks until nearly seven hundred new banks had been organized. There were four causes for the unwillingness of the State banks to become national banks.

First: The apprehension that the national system might prove to be a repetition of the free-bank system of the West, which had been a disreputable failure.

Second: The opinion that in becoming national banks, and issuing notes secured by Government bonds, their interests would be so identified with the interests of the Government, their credit so dependent upon, so interwoven with, the public credit, that they would be ruined if the integrity of the Union should not be preserved.

Third: The danger of hostile legislation by Congress, or the annoyances to which they might be exposed by Congressional interference with their business for partisan purposes.

Fourth: The requirement, that in order to become national banks, they must relinquish the names to which they had become attached, and be known by numerals.

I had no great difficulty in satisfying the bankers with whom I had personal interviews or correspondence that three of these objections were unsubstantial. In answer to the first, I pointed out the important particulars in which the national system differed from the free-bank system of the West, in the requirement that the capitals of the national banks should

be real, and fully paid up; that their circulation was to be secured by United States bonds, with ten per cent. margin; that in case of the failure of a bank, its notes would be at once redeemable at the United States Treasury; that all the banks would be subjected to frequent examinations by men appointed by the Treasury Department. In answer to the second, I took the ground that the interests of the State banks were already so involved with those of the Government, that the fate of the latter would be the fate of the former also; that whether they remained State banks or became national, they would stand or fall with the Government. In answer to the third, I expressed the opinion that there was as little to fear from Congressional as from State legislation; that if there was trouble to be apprehended in either direction, it would be in the control which the banks might have over Congress, rather than in annoying interference by Congress with their legitimate business. To the fourth I could make no reply. It seemed to me to be unreasonable that the State banks should be required, in order to be converted into national banks, to surrender the names that had been made honorable by the manner in which their business had been conducted, and accept for a name, a number. This was the only point on which I differed from Mr. Chase in the management of the bureau. He had, before I met him, formed the opinion that the banks should be named the First, Second, Third, and so on, of the town or city in which they were established. This he considered necessary to give the system a national character. Few men were more tenacious of their opinions than Mr. Chase, and he did not yield in this instance until he found that adherence to his ruling stood directly in the way of the perfect success of the system, which he believed to be essential to the national welfare.

"Do you expect that the Bank of Commerce," said its president to me, "will relinquish its honored name and be known as the Tenth or the Twentieth National Bank of New York? If you do you will find yourself mistaken." On this

point the leading State banks were a unit. When it was yielded by the Secretary, and they were permitted to retain their old names, with the word national prefixed or affixed, they came into the national system with a rush—Boston, as is her wont in all public enterprises, taking the lead. Within less than two years the State banks were superseded by the national, and their notes, the most of which had at best, merely a local and uncertain credit, were withdrawn from circulation, and their place was filled by notes of perfect solvency, and current through the Union. All this was accomplished without a ripple of disturbance to the current business of the country. The bureau was a busy one, and although the clerical force was rapidly increased by raw recruits, the work was so systematized, the machinery kept in such good condition, that there was no confusion and no accumulation of unfinished business. My labors were severe and incessant, but I look back with satisfaction upon the two years which were spent in the organization of the National Currency Bureau on a basis which should only need extension for its increasing business, and in putting into operation a banking system admirably adapted to our republican institutions, and which, by the security which it gives to bank-note circulation, is the best that has ever been devised. The office of Comptroller has been ably filled, since I resigned it, by Mr. John J. Knox, who held it for many years, and whose reports are sound in doctrine, lucid, and instructive, and by his worthy successor, Mr. Henry W. Cannon, and by his accomplished successor, Mr. W. L. Trenholm.

Mr. Chase has been known as the father of the greenbacks. It was by his advice that they were issued, but it was not by his advice that they were made a legal tender. He thought that a large issue of United States notes was absolutely necessary for the purpose of furnishing the country with currency, and for aiding the sale of bonds which were to be the main reliance of the Government for the means for prosecuting the

war. He was opposed to the clause that made the notes a legal tender, and his opposition to it was only overcome by the apprehension of his friends, and perhaps his own, that unless this character were given to them they might not be current. He never expressed the opinion that the Legal Tender Acts were constitutional, nor did he expect that the notes of which they authorized the issue would become a permanent circulation. This is evident from the fact that they were made convertible into the first issue (five hundred millions) of the six per cent. five-twenty bonds. It was Mr. Chase's expectation that the notes would greatly aid the negotiation of the loan, and that they would be absorbed by the bonds as soon as the market price of bonds was above par. The notes did facilitate the negotiation of the bonds, and they would have disappeared from circulation if the provision of the act which made them convertible into bonds had not been repealed. This provision was repealed at the instance of Mr. Chase, because he thought it stood in the way of successful negotiation of further necessary loans.

When the war was over and the army had been disbanded, and all demands upon the treasury had been provided for, some months after I was appointed Secretary, the great work of converting before they matured the compound interest bearing notes, the seven and three-tenth notes, etc., etc., into bonds, was to be undertaken. While this work was going on, it was of the utmost importance that there should be no disturbance in the financial condition of the country, and I was in constant fear that a case then pending before the Supreme Court, involving the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Acts, might be taken up and decided adversely before this work had been completed. I had no reason to doubt as to what the opinion of Mr. Chase, the Chief Justice, would be when he was called upon to face the question judicially; and I thought if he, who was in a measure responsible for the acts, considered them unconstitutional, that his associates would be quite sure

to agree with him. I was greatly relieved when all the temporary obligations of the Government had been converted into bonds, and the Treasury Department was prepared for the expected decision, that the Legal Tender Acts were not warranted by the Constitution. The case referred to was dismissed—on what grounds I do not recollect—and there was no decision by the Supreme Court upon this most important question until after I had ceased to be Secretary of the Treasury.

The first case involving the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Acts, decided by the Supreme Court, was in December, 1869 (Hepburn *v.* Griswold). The question in this case was, whether the holder of a note executed before the passage of the first Legal Tender Act (the Act of February 25, 1862) when coin was the only standard of value, should be compelled to receive in payment thereof legal tender notes, which then, measured by coin, were at a heavy discount—in other words, whether Congress had the constitutional authority to make anything but gold and silver lawful money in satisfaction of contracts entered into before the Act was passed. The question, Can Congress make such notes a legal tender for contracts made after the passage of the Act? was not involved in the case, but it was very clear from the opinion of the Court, delivered by the Chief Justice, that a majority of the justices regarded the Act as being unconstitutional in its application to contracts made after as well as to those made before the Act was passed. Upon the question before the Court, the justices were divided in opinion, five, including the Chief Justice, agreeing that the Act was invalid to the extent that it made the notes a legal tender on contracts executed prior to its enactment, three being of the opinion that it was valid. Against the constitutionality of the Act, in its application to the case under consideration, were the Chief Justice and Justices Nelson, Grier, Clifford and Field; in favor of its constitutionality were Justices Miller, Swayne and Davis. The opinion of the dissent-

ing justices was delivered by Justice Miller. This decision was unfavorably received by the Administration, and it was especially offensive to the great railroad companies whose bonds were executed prior to February 25, 1862, inasmuch as it made the interest and principal of their bonds payable in coin.

The second Legal Tender case (Knox *v.* Lee, and Parker *v.* Davis), was decided in December, 1870, the Court then consisting of nine judges; the place of Judge Grier, who had resigned, having been filled by the appointment of Judge Strong, and Judge Bradley having been appointed under an act which took effect in December, 1869, increasing the number of justices to nine. It was no secret, indeed it was a matter of public notoriety, that these justices were appointed in order that the decision of 1869 might be reversed. No one who knew them doubted their integrity or ability—their perfect fitness for the places they were called to fill; but their opinions in regard to the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Acts, had been clearly and publicly expressed, and to this fact their appointment was attributed. It was therefore pretty well known what the decision would be when the question was again presented. It was understood that no change had taken place in the opinions of the justices who were upon the bench when the first Legal Tender case was decided, and still remained upon it; that Messrs. Swayne, Davis and Miller, would adhere to the opinion expressed in that case, and that with Justices Strong and Bradley, the Court would stand five in support of the Act and four against it. By a majority of the Court, five to four, the judgment rendered a year before was reversed, and an Act of Congress, making the depreciated notes a legal tender in payment of pre-existing contracts was declared to be constitutional; that creditors were bound to receive on contracts calling for dollars, the notes of the Government promising to pay dollars, but on which dollars could not be obtained. This judgment of the court established the validity of the Legal

Tender Acts, on the ground chiefly that Congress regarded them as a necessary means of preserving the Government in a period of extraordinary emergency. It did not settle the question as to the authority of Congress to make Government notes lawful money, when no emergency existed, in a time of peace and general prosperity. The argument of Justice Strong, in expressing the opinion of the Court in the second Legal Tender case, was based upon what was considered a fact, that the acts were necessary so save the country from ruin. His language on this point was this:

"We do not propose to dilate at length upon the circumstances in which the country was placed when Congress attempted to make treasury notes a legal tender. They are of too recent occurrence to justify enlarged description. Suffice it to say that a civil war was then raging, which seriously threatened the overthrow of the Government, and even the Constitution itself. It demanded the equipment and support of large armies and navies, and the employment of money to an extent beyond the capacity of all ordinary sources of supply. Meanwhile the public treasury was nearly empty, and the credit of the Government, if not stretched to its utmost tension, had become nearly exhausted. Moneyed institutions had advanced largely of their means, and more could not be expected of them. They had been compelled to suspend specie payments. Taxation was inadequate to pay even the interest on the debt already incurred, and it was impossible to await the income of additional taxes. The necessity was immediate and pressing. The army was unpaid. There was then due to the soldiers in the field nearly a score of millions of dollars. The requisitions from the War and Navy departments for supplies exceeded fifty millions, and the current expenditure was over one million per day. The entire amount of coin in the country, including that in private hands as well as that in banking institutions, was insufficient to supply the need of the Government three months, had it all been poured into the Treasury. Foreign credit we had none. We say nothing of the overhanging paralysis of trade, and of business generally, which threatened loss of confidence in the ability of the Government to maintain its continued existence, and therefore the complete destruction of all remaining national credit.

"It was at such a time and in such circumstances that Congress was called upon to device means for maintaining the army and navy, for securing the large supplies of money needed for the preservation of the Government created by the Constitution. It was at such a time and in such an emergency that the Legal Tender Acts were passed. Now, if it were certain that nothing else would have supplied the absolute necessities of the Treasury, that nothing else would have enabled the Government to maintain its armies and navy, that nothing else would have saved the Government and the Constitution from destruction, while the Legal Tender Acts would, could any one be bold enough to assert that Congress transgressed its powers? Or, if these enactments did not work these results, can it be maintained now that they were not for a legitimate end, or appropriate and adapted to that end—in the language of Chief Justice Marshall? That they did work such results is not to be doubted. Something revived the drooping faith of the people; something brought immediately to the Government's aid the resources of the nation, and something enabled the successful prosecution of the war, and the preservation of the national life. What was it, if not the Legal Tender enactments?"

In all this, Justice Strong was undoubtedly wrong. The quality of legal tender which was given to the notes was not necessary to make them current. It added nothing to their real value. They would have circulated just as freely and performed all the service for which they were issued as well without the legal tender quality as with it. The confidence of the people in these notes depended not upon their being declared to be lawful money, but upon the ability of the Government to redeem them. Their market value rose and fell with the successes or reverses of the Federal armies. As the amount of issue was limited, and as the notes were receivable for Government loans and in payment of all Government dues except import duties, it was a matter of surprise that they went as low as they did. In making them a legal tender, Congress followed bad examples. It was just as powerless to make them the equivalent of real money by declaring them to be a legal tender, as was the Continental

Congress to give to the Continental notes, and the French Government to give to assignats, intrinsic and reliable value. The lowest point to which the Legal Tender notes fell, was when Congress, in order to appreciate them, attempted to prevent dealings in gold in the public exchanges, by the passage of the gold bill (July, 1864). It was then, if I rightly recollect, that one hundred dollars in gold was equal in the New York Stock and Gold exchanges, to two hundred and eighty-five dollars of Legal Tender notes. Nothing ought to have been clearer from the result of similar experiments than that governments are absolutely impotent to give anything more than a limited and artificial value to notes that are not convertible into coin. According to the opinion of the Court, as expressed by Justice Strong: "It is hardly correct to speak of a standard of value when that value is an ideal thing." If this is true, then nations have been in error from the very commencement of commerce and trade. From the earliest period of which there is any record, gold and silver have been used as a measure of value, and a measure of value is necessarily a standard. These metals were selected because they were the only metals fitted for current use as money. They are, in fact, the only metals which suffer but very little from abrasion, which can be changed from bullion to coin, and from coin to bullion again, without perceptible loss. Besides, the supply always has been and is quite sure of continuing to be limited, and the cost of obtaining them equal to, if not greater than, the value fixed upon them when coined. It is true that neither gold nor silver was coined until a comparatively recent period, but they had been used as a measure of value centuries before, and this is an evidence of their intrinsic value. In all but the simplest trade, carried on by an exchange of one article of use for another, a standard of value was needed. This standard was found in the precious metals gold and silver, and they will continue to be the standard until something is discovered better fitted in all respects for the uses to

which they have been applied. The United States notes were needed at the time they were issued. The mistake was in clothing them with the attributes of real money. By their being made a legal tender, they enabled, most unjustly, debtors to use them in discharge of obligations executed when coin was the only standard, but their value was not enhanced by it. Their real value depended, not upon their being declared to be lawful money, but, as I have said, upon their being receivable for Government loans and public dues, and the ability and disposition of the Government to redeem them in coin.

By the decision in the second Legal Tender case, the decision of the Court in the first case was reversed, and the doctrine established that at a time of great emergency, when the Government was engaged in a gigantic war for the maintenance of its authority, and was in imminent danger of being overthrown, it was proper for Congress to do whatever was deemed to be necessary and not absolutely prohibited by the Constitution, for its preservation, and that, as the Legal Tender acts were passed at such a period and for such a purpose, they were not unconstitutional. The question, therefore, of the authority of Congress to make Government notes, issued or reissued in a time of peace, and when the national authority was established throughout the country, a legal tender, was regarded as being an open one. In the third Legal Tender case, that question, the most important in its far-reaching character and its bearings upon the nature of the Federal Government that had ever been presented to the Court, was definitely decided. Mr. Justice Gray, in delivering the opinion of the Court, said: "The simple question to be considered is, whether United States notes, issued in a time of war, under acts of Congress declaring them to be a legal tender in payment of private debts, and afterwards in a time of peace re-issued, can, under the Constitution, be a legal tender in payment of such debts." This question, Justice Field alone dissenting, was decided in the affirmative, and this decision covered the whole ground of

controversy between those who were of the opinion that Congress possessed no power not expressly granted by the Constitution, or necessary to render effective the power that was thus granted, and those who were of the opinion that all power not absolutely prohibited, belonged to Congress, to be exercised whenever a majority of both branches and the President should consider the exercise of it necessary or expedient: between those who thought that Congress possessed no power not expressly granted, and those who thought that Congress possessed all power not expressly prohibited by the Constitution.

One of the most singular things in the trial of these Legal Tender cases was the fact that the attorneys in their arguments, and the judges in their opinions, referred to the decision pronounced by Chief Justice Marshall, in the celebrated case of McCulloch *v.* The State of Maryland—a decision not more remarkable for the ability which it displayed, than for the clearness and precision of its language—for the support of antagonistic and irreconcilable doctrines. The decision of the Court in this last case was a surprise to the country. It established the authority of Congress, in times of peace as well as in times of war—whether the treasury is full or empty—to make United States notes a legal tender for the payment of private debts, no matter how large the issue or how small their value when measured by coin. It was admitted that no such power was distinctly conferred by the Constitution, and it was not contended that this power was necessary for the execution of what was expressly given. The power expressly granted to Congress was to coin money, and regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coins. The power to make Government notes a legal tender was certainly not inferable from the power to coin money, and hence the Court, in deciding that the Legal Tender Acts were not unconstitutional, was compelled to take the ground that the United States was a nation with powers limited only by the language of the Constitution;

that what the Constitution did not absolutely forbid, Congress might lawfully do; that the power to make United States notes a legal tender grew out of the national sovereignty instituted by the Constitution. It is not for me to criticise the judgment of the justices of the Supreme Court, for whose learning, wisdom and uprightness I have profound respect. This much it is proper, however, for me to say, as it is obvious to everybody, that this decision relieves Congress from what have heretofore been considered well defined restrictions, and clothes a republican government with imperial power.

There is, however, a higher power than imperial power which controls the value of paper money. It may be made a legal tender, and the people may be compelled to use it as money, but its real value depends upon the relation which it bears to coin. Unless convertible, depreciation cannot be prevented by acts of Congress, and the extent of its depreciation will depend upon the amount in circulation, and the financial condition of the country. There is no real money but gold and silver. It is unfortunate that this fact was not appreciated when the Legal Tender Acts were passed. By the Constitution, "the powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." This clear and unmistakable restriction of the powers of Congress would not have been disregarded had not the Government been engaged in a terrific struggle for its existence. No prominent man when they were passed thought that the Legal Tender Acts were constitutional. The simple fact that the authority of Congress to provide for the punishment of counterfeiting was limited to "the counterfeiting of the securities and current coin of the United States," makes it clear to ordinary comprehensions that the framers of the Constitution did not contemplate the issue of notes as money.

I have said that Mr. Chase has been known as the father of the greenbacks (the United States legal tender notes). It is

true that when these notes became a very popular currency, and he was aspiring to the Presidency, he was quite willing to acknowledge his paternity; but the great scheme upon which he desired that his financial reputation should rest was the national banking system. That this system has been of inestimable benefit to the country, all who have knowledge of the systems which it superseded unhesitatingly admit. It is a system that ought to be perpetuated, although its perpetuation will require the continued existence of a part of our national debt. With the opinions which I entertain in regard to this debt, I can say nothing stronger in its behalf.

CHAPTER XVI.

Salmon P. Chase—Entitled to the Gratitude of his Countrymen for Services as Secretary of the Treasury—Condition of the Treasury when he Entered It—His Two Mistakes—His Ambition to be Chief Justice—Not Satisfied after his Ambition had been Gratified—Abraham Lincoln—His Educational Advantages—His Knowledge of Men and his Far-seeing Wisdom—William P. Fessenden—His Administration of the Treasury—His Statesmanship—Am Appointed Secretary of the Treasury—Thurlow Weed's Agency in the Appointment—Extracts from my Advice to National Banks when Comptroller of the Currency—Extracts from my Speech at Fort Wayne in October, 1865—My Opinions of the National Debt.

MR. CHASE was one of the most extraordinary men that our country has produced. In 1837 he was pointed out to me in the Cincinnati court-house as the rising young member of the bar, which was even then distinguished by the high character of its lawyers. Had he continued in the practice, he would have been the peer of Henry Stansbury in legal accomplishments, and have come up to the standard of Thomas Ewing, the ablest lawyer who has appeared west of the Alleghanies. His mind was clear and logical, comprehensive in its grasp, and certain in its conclusions. He was a fine scholar, a master of the English tongue. He spoke with ease and distinctness. He was not what might be called a fluent, nor, according to the American idea (which is rapidly changing) an eloquent speaker; but he had few equals in analyzing difficult questions and making abstruse subjects intelligible. Inclined to be dogmatic, he was nevertheless genial in social intercourse, and at times fascinating. In manners he was courtly without assumption; in opinion, tenacious without intolerance. He was strong in his convictions, and steadfast in his principles. Hostile to slavery, and a strict construc-

tionist, he was willing to yield to the slave power just what was granted by the Constitution, not an iota more. In his opinion, slavery was a local institution, of which the States in which it existed had exclusive control, and which Congress had no authority to extend or even to sanction. He was, therefore, heartily opposed to its extension into the territories, and to its existence in any part of the public domain; but he was at the same time opposed to any outside interference with it in the slave-holding States. In a word, his hatred of slavery was subordinated to his reverence for the Constitution.

The movements of the armies, the great battles that were fought with varying success on both sides, so absorbed the public attention that comparatively little interest was felt in the measures that were adopted to provide the means to meet the enormous and daily increasing demands upon the treasury. It was the successful general who was the recipient of public honors, not the man by whose agency the sinews of war were supplied; and yet but for the successful administration of the Treasury Department during the war, the Union would have been riven asunder. If I were asked to designate the man whose services, next to Mr. Lincoln's, were of the greatest value to the country, from March, 1861, to July, 1864, I should unhesitatingly name Salmon P. Chase. When Mr. Chase was appointed Secretary, the public credit was lower than that of any other great nation. The treasury was empty. The annual expenditures had for some years exceeded the revenues. To meet the deficiencies, shifts were resorted to which, while they gave present relief to the treasury, increased its embarrassment. To show how low the public credit was at the close of Mr. Buchanan's administration, it is only necessary to state that "in December, 1860, when the national debt was less than $65,000,000, proposals were invited by the Secretary of the Treasury for $5,000,000 of treasury notes (the amount re-

quired to meet debts falling due and payable on the 1st of January following), to bear such rates of interest as might be proposed by bidders and agreed to by the Secretary. For these notes, bids to the amount of $1,831,000, at twelve per cent. interest were accepted, and bids for $465,000, at from fifteen to thirty-six per cent. interest, were rejected. Soon after the balance of this loan ($3,169,000) was taken by the Bank of Commerce, New York, and its associates, at twelve per cent. interest. Such was the credit of the Government when the country, although disturbed by the threatened secession of some of the Southern States, was in an unusually prosperous condition.

In February, 1861, proposals were invited for twenty-year six per cent. bonds. Offers for these to the amount of $8,006,000, at ninety per cent. were accepted, and offers for $6,454,250, at a lower rate than ninety, were rejected. In March following, proposals were invited for more of the same kind of bonds, for which offers to the amount of $3,099,000, at ninety-four per cent., and upwards were accepted, (there were but three bids, amounting to $21,000, above ninety-four), and offers for $23,983,000, at less than ninety-four were rejected. Such was the condition of the treasury when Mr. Chase entered upon the discharge of his duties. A more discouraging financial outlook can hardly be imagined. The Government was without credit—the treasury without money. Eight States had adopted ordinances to dissolve their connection with the Union; three others were quite sure to follow their example—the loyalty of Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky was questionable—and war clouds were gathering all along the southern horizon. It was obvious, if war should occur, that no money could be borrowed on the other side of the Atlantic. The tone of the European, and especially the English press, which with a single exception was in sympathy with the South, left no room for doubt on this point. It was openly hostile to the North, and this hostility never ceased

until the war was ended. When the United States notes, with which the six per cent. bonds could be obtained at par, were greatly depreciated, German capitalists purchased freely, and thereby relieved to some extent, the home market, but not a bond could be sold in either the English or French markets. Mr. Chase perceived, upon entering upon the discharge of his duties, that the home market was the only one in which the United States securities could be disposed of—that to the people of the loyal States he must look for the support of the treasury.

It is not necessary for me to speak of the various loans that were negotiated, and the taxes that were imposed to raise the immense sums that were needed in the prosecution of the most expensive war that the world has ever known. It is enough for me merely to refer to the extraordinary fact that the people were patient under very burdensome taxes, taxes to which they were entirely unaccustomed, taxes direct and indirect, taxes upon almost everything that they consumed, taxes which before the war it would have been considered impossible to collect; and to the still more extraordinary fact that the public credit steadily improved, notwithstanding the rapid increase of the public debt, and was higher when it reached the enormous sum of $2,757,803,686, as it did in August, 1865, than it was when the Government did not owe a dollar. Not alone to Mr. Chase is the honor due for the financial success of the Government in its desperate struggle for the maintenance of its integrity, but a very large share of it certainly belongs to him. It was by his advice that taxes were imposed and loans were authorized. It was by him that the most important negotiations were accomplished, and it was in accordance with his general financial policy that the Department was administered after his resignation. He was the manager of the finances from March, 1861, to July, 1864, and by their successful management during that gloomy and momentous period, he established a lasting claim upon the

respect and gratitude of his countrymen. To him, more than to any other single man, always excepting Abraham Lincoln, are they indebted for the preservation of the national unity.

To the worshippers of our great military captains, this may seem absurd, but not to those who comprehend the difficulties which Mr. Chase encountered in building up the national credit, which had been broken down by the bad management of the Secretary of the Treasury of the next preceding administration, and in improving it when the national unity was in peril. Prior to becoming Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Chase had had no financial experience. He was not a financier, but he had the qualities that were needed in the head of the Treasury Department at that particular time. He was clear-headed, self-possessed, self-confident, patriotic, hopeful, bold, and he succeeded when trained financiers, who are usually conservative and cautious, would have failed. Nor was he lacking in executive ability. The Treasury Department in 1861 was not larger in working force than one of its present bureaus. It became in less than four years the largest financial department in the world. Its clerical force during that period was increased ten-fold, and consequently a large part of its important work was performed by inexperienced hands, and yet there was no confusion, and no irregularities that were not speedily corrected. I do not exaggerate when I say that there was really more hard and difficult work done in a single year in a single bureau—the Bureau of Internal Revenue (for the admirable organization of which the country is indebted to George S. Boutwell)—than was done in the whole Department from the establishment of the Government up to 1861.

That Mr. Chase made some mistakes, is admitted by his warmest friends—if he had not, he would have been more than mortal. He was called upon to perform duties of the highest importance to his country—duties to which he was entirely unaccustomed, and for the performance of which he had no opportunity for preparation. His work was gigantic,

and even the most critical were compelled to acknowledge that on the whole it was done well. Two mistakes he admitted—one, in consenting that the United States notes should be made a legal tender; the other, in advising the repeal of the clause in the first Legal Tender act, which made the notes convertible into bonds. His friends were forced to admit that he made two mistakes of a different character—one in permitting his name to be used as a candidate for the Presidency while he was a member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet; the other, in resigning when his services as Secretary of the Treasury were greatly needed. The acknowledged cause of his resignation was a disagreement between the President and himself in regard to the appointment of a successor to Mr. Cisco in the office of Assistant Treasurer at New York. The real cause was the interruption of their pleasant relations by political rivalry. Mr. Chase's resignation was promptly accepted—I think to his surprise, I am sure to his lasting regret. His place in public estimation would have been higher, and he would have been a much happier man, if, instead of desiring to be President, and permitting his name to be used in opposition to that of his chief, he had been content to remain at the head of the Treasury Department until the work which he had undertaken amid great discouragements, and had prosecuted with so much vigor and boldness, had been completed.

Nothing is so captivating and yet so dangerous, to our public men, as the whisperings of the siren, exciting aspirations for the Presidency which are never realized and which never die. In a conversation which I had with Mr. Chase, in 1863, he remarked that there was only one office which he had heartily desired—the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. I dined with him a couple of weeks after the coveted honor had been conferred upon him, and I was pained by discovering that he was far from being satisfied. As a justice of the Supreme Court, he had no favors to grant, no patronage to wield. High as the position was, it was not the one to

which he had really aspired. To him it seemed like retirement from public life. There was another thing that was undoubtedly weighing upon him, although he did not suggest it. He had not been in the active practice of the law for twenty years, nor had he been able during that period to devote any time to legal studies. As an active politician, the leader of the Anti-Slavery party in Ohio, as Governor, United States Senator, and Secretary of the Treasury, he had been otherwise fully employed; so that when he went upon the bench he was unfamiliar with the work which he was called upon to perform. He perceived, therefore, that unless he shrank from his proper share of the duties of the Court (and that he was not disposed to do), he would for a time labor under great disadvantages. He did have to work much harder in the investigation of legal questions, and in the preparation of opinions, than any of his associates. It was undoubtedly this hard work and the disappointment of his political ambition that shortened his life.

Mr. Lincoln's high appreciation of Mr. Chase's ability and character was exhibited by his appointing him to be Chief Justice. He hesitated for some days, while the matter was under consideration, to send his name to the Senate, under the apprehension that he might be somewhat rigorous in his judgment of some of the executive acts, and especially those of the Secretary of War, if suit should be brought involving questions that could only be settled by the Supreme Court. Knowing that my relations with Mr. Chase were intimate, he sent for me one day, and after explaining the nature of his fears, asked me what I thought about them. "Why, Mr. President," I replied, "you have no reason for fears on that score. Mr. Chase is in the same box with yourself and Mr. Stanton. He favored and advised, as he has himself informed me, the dispersion by force of the Maryland Legislature, and if anything more illegal than that would have been has been done, I have not heard of it." The President did not say that that

reminded him of a story, but he laughed heartily and the interview was ended. It may be proper for me to remark here, that the personal relations between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Chase were never cordial. They were about as unlike in appearance, in education, in manners, in taste, and in temperament, as two eminent men could be. Mr. Chase had received a classical education, and until he entered the political field and became the leader of the Anti-Slavery party of Ohio, he had been a student of general literature; in appearance he was impressive, in manner stately, in taste refined, in temperament cold. Although the larger part of his early life was passed in the West, he was not "Westernized." He cracked no jokes, and he had no aptitude for story-telling. He did not and could not appreciate those qualities which brought Mr. Lincoln so close to the hearts of the people. Self-reliant, rapid in conclusions, and prompt in action, he would not, had he been President in the spring of 1861, have waited for South Carolina to strike the first blow; it was therefore fortunate that he was not in Mr. Lincoln's place.

Mr. Lincoln had no educational advantages in his early life. In appearance he was unprepossessing, in manners ungraceful, in taste unrefined, or at least peculiar, but he was warm-hearted and genial. In knowledge of men, in strong common sense, in sound judgment, in sagacity, Mr. Lincoln had no superior. He was unassuming, patient, hopeful, far-seeing. He was also one of the bravest of men. In saying this I do not refer to personal courage, in which he was by no means deficient; but to bravery of a higher and rarer kind—bravery which was steadfast under the criticism of his friends and the assaults of his enemies. His inaction for some weeks after his inauguration greatly disappointed many of his most devoted political adherents, who became fearful that it indicated indecision; and the feeling became widespread that he lacked nerve—one of the most essential qualities in a statesman who is called upon to act when danger is imminent and

great interests are at stake. In this he was misjudged. He was anxious to prevent a decided rupture of the relations of the Government with the Southern States, and he was determined if a rupture should occur that the Administration should not be responsible for it. It was his duty to enforce obedience to the federal authority throughout the Union, but he hoped that this might be accomplished in the Southern States without a resort to arms. He knew how strong the opposition was in the West to what was called coercion—the coercion of sovereign States, and he foresaw that if a conflict should occur, and the Government should be regarded as the aggressor, it would fail to command hearty support in that section, and how important it therefore was, if war was to be the result of attempts to execute the law, that the first blow should not be struck by the Government. His wisdom was vindicated by the manner in which the report of the cannonade upon Fort Sumter was received throughout the loyal States. It was, as I have remarked, like an electric shock to a body seemingly inanimate, but which was full of life. It vitalized the dormant patriotism of the people, it hushed party strife, it united Republicans and Democrats in a common cause—the defence of the Union. Thenceforward, many who had been the opponents of coercion were its strongest advocates. Some of them attained high distinction in the field.

Throughout his administration Mr. Lincoln was wiser than his assailants, wiser than his friends. Beside the attacks of his political enemies, to which he was indifferent, he was constantly charged, by those who claimed to be friendly, with hesitation, when hesitation was dangerous. They were, for instance, impatient at his tardiness in using his war power to free the slaves, and they censured him without stint. He was troubled by this censure, but his purposes were not shaken by it. Although one of the mildest of men, he was unyielding to efforts which were made to force him to acts which he considered erroneous in themselves, or erroneous be-

cause untimely. His aim was to keep abreast with the public sentiment, with which no man was better acquainted, and not to go too fast to avoid the charge of going too slow. He issued his celebrated Emancipation Proclamation when he thought the people were prepared for it, and when the military condition of the country seemed to justify it. It came at the right time; it breathed the right spirit, and it was hailed with almost universal satisfaction in all the loyal States. I never think of the manner in which Mr. Lincoln performed the most difficult and responsible duties which ever devolved upon mortal man; of the enormous labors which he performed; of his faith in the right, his constancy, his hopefulness, his sagacity, and his patience under unmerited and bitter criticism, without feelings of admiration akin to reverence.

When Mr. Chase resigned, the eyes of the people turned to Mr. Fessenden as the right man to be his successor. Mr. Fessenden's acknowledged ability and high character, and the financial knowledge which he had displayed as Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate, were a sufficient guaranty that under his direction the business of the Treasury Department would be uprightly and ably conducted. He accepted the office with extreme reluctance. His business had been to assist in making laws, not in executing them. He was distrustful of his executive ability. The duties which he was required to perform were distasteful to him from the start, and the longer he remained in office the more distasteful they became to him. Besides, he was not physically strong. He was disinclined, therefore, to daily, incessant labor, especially to what seemed to him to be mere drudgery. Then, too, his desire was to return to the Senate, and he was afraid that in important transactions he might subject himself to criticism which would prejudice his election. He knew, for instance, that Mr. Chase had been sharply criticised for employing an agent in the negotiation of loans, and so instead of following

Mr. Chase's example, he attempted to supply the treasury with money through the instrumentality of the national banks. He addressed a circular letter, appealing strongly to them to subscribe directly and liberally for the seven-and-three-tenth notes, and to use their best efforts to dispose of them to their customers. The appeal was not responded to as he hoped and anticipated that it would be, and he was compelled, after some delay, to avail himself of the services of the same agent, Mr. Jay Cooke, whom Mr. Chase had successfully employed in his most important negotiations. In the mean time the treasury became considerably embarrassed and the Government credit impaired. If Mr. Fessenden had been strong in health, if his duties had been congenial, and he had been content to remain at the head of the great department, he would have been equal to his duties, however difficult and onerous they might have been. But his health was not good, and his heart was not in executive, but in legislative work. It was as a Senator that he had achieved renown. It was in the Senate chamber that he was at home. There, in extent of knowledge, in command of language, in readiness and force in debate, he had no equal. Mr. Douglas was frequently compared with him, but he was more learned than Mr. Douglas, closer in reasoning, more easily followed, more accurate in statements, and altogether safer as a leader.

Mr. Fessenden was one of the very few men of his day that merited the name of statesman. He must have been a hard student in early life (he was not subsequently), or great as was his aptitude for learning, he would not have possessed that wealth of knowledge which he frequently displayed in the Senate Chamber. He was not an orator, but a debater of the highest order, lucid, cogent, incisive. He did not regard the halls of Congress as fit places for oratorical display, for the delivery of orations, and he listened impatiently, when he listened at all, to Mr. Sumner's which had been prepared with care and committed to memory. He was disposed to under-

rate abilities which differed from his own, and he therefore underrated those of Mr. Sumner. In devotion to what he considered right, he was as inflexible as steel. This trait of character was exhibited in the impeachment trial of President Johnson. While this celebrated trial was going on, he received scores of letters threatening him with personal violence—some of them with death, if he voted for acquittal, but they did not disturb him in the least. No one knew how he would vote—he did not know himself until the testimony and the arguments on both sides had been heard—but it was well known that he had no sympathy with those who had determined how they would vote before the trial was commenced; who did not hesitate to pronounce the President guilty without waiting for the evidence. Hence it was feared that his vote might not be unfavorable to the President, and hence the threats. Mr. Fessenden said to me as much, I am sure, as he said to any one, which was simply this: That he should listen attentively to the testimony and to the arguments of counsel, and then, and not until then, make up his mind as to what his oath and his duty required of him. His vote and the votes of six others, from the Republican side of the Senate, with the Democratic votes, saved the President from being adjudged a criminal, and the Republican party from disruption. I shall say something more about this trial when I come to speak of Mr. Johnson and his administration.

For some years before his death, ill health prevented Mr. Fessenden from participating in Washington festivities, and on this account he was regarded by many as being of an unsocial disposition. In this he was misjudged. Before his health became impaired, he was eminently social; to those who were intimate with him, he was always one of the most affable and agreeable of men. In appearance he was attractive; his face was handsome and strikingly intellectual; in deportment he was natural, in character upright, in all business transactions honorable. He was true to his princi-

ples and to his friends, never unfaithful to the former, or forgetful of the latter.

A day or two after his second inauguration, Mr. Lincoln requested me, by one of his messengers, to call upon him at the White House at some time during the day, which I did in the afternoon. He was alone, and as he took my hand, he said: "I have sent for you, Mr. McCulloch, to let you know that I want you to be Secretary of the Treasury, and if you do not object to it, I shall send your name to the Senate." I was taken all aback by this sudden and unexpected announcement. It was an office that I had not aspired to, and did not desire. I knew how arduous and difficult the duties of the head of that department were, and a place had been offered to me in New York which it would be greatly for my interest to accept. I hesitated for a moment, and then replied: "I thank you, Mr. President, heartily for this mark of your confidence, and I should be glad to comply with your wishes if I did not distrust my ability to do what will be required of the Secretary of the Treasury in the existing financial condition of the Government." "I will be responsible for that," said the President. "I will be responsible for that, and so I reckon we will consider the matter settled." The President seemed to be greatly careworn, but he was cheerful, and after a brief talk with him I returned to my office and said nothing to any one about the interview. I was, I confess, gratified by being asked to take the most important place in the Government, but I was troubled as I thought of its duties and responsibilities. I could not say which feeling predominated—gratification or dread. The next day my nomination was sent to the Senate, and was, as I understood, unanimously confirmed.

I may say here that I found the office a very laborious and thankless one. I gave my entire time to its duties, I was not away from it more than twenty days during the whole term (four years) which I held it, frequently working

by night as well as by day. I was subject to the most liberal abuse in the Senate and the House, and to some extent by the press; and yet I was never sorry that I accepted the post. Responsibility I did not shrink from—hard work agreed with me—and the causeless abuse even of Senators did not disturb me. In looking back after so many years upon my administration of the Treasury, I can think of no recommendation which I made to Congress that did not merit favorable consideration; of no official act which I would recall. The only thing that annoyed me, and that not very much, was the course of some of my Republican friends in the Senate and House, who, when a rupture of my official relations with President Johnson was feared, would come to the Treasury Department and entreat me to "hold on" (as one of them said, "for God's sake, hold on!"), and then go back to the Capitol and hear me abused without uttering a word in my behalf.

My appointment, as I heard after it was made, was strongly recommended by Mr. Chase and Mr. Fessenden. This was gratifying to me, because they knew me personally and officially. Mr. Thurlow Weed claimed that I was indebted to him for my appointment. In his autobiography he says that Mr. Lincoln invited him to Washington for a consultation about the person who should be selected to be Mr. Fessenden's successor, and that after discussing the qualifications of a number of men (my name being one of them), it was agreed that he (Mr. Weed) should confer freely with me and report his conclusions. The following is Mr. Weed's account of the interview with me, and of the result:

"I found myself not a little embarrassed on my way, one Sunday morning, to the residence of Mr. McCulloch. The idea of establishing relations with that gentlemen 'on compulsion' seemed like seeking knowledge under difficulties. These difficulties, however, disappeared by degrees as our conversation proceeded. There were two elements in the character of Mr. McCulloch, on which, *per se*, I was disposed to rely.

He had Scotch blood in his veins, and had been in politics a Whig. My interviews with that gentleman, if protracted, were made so by his intelligent, right-minded, and straightforward expression of views and opinions. If, in going to Mr. McCulloch, I had something the feeling of Toots in calling on Captain Cuttle for the 'favor of his friendship,' I left him with a strong feeling of regard and confidence, and so reported to Mr. Lincoln, who immediately sent his name to the Senate—a step which neither Mr. Lincoln nor the people have had occasion to regret. On the contray, Mr. McCulloch proved himself an enlightened, independent, and upright Secretary of the Treasury. To the friends whom I represented, he was just and faithful. To myself, who was frequently compelled to occupy his time and attention, he was uniformly courteous and patient, always granting what was proper and in his power to grant, and never refusing without a good reason, and in friendly spirit. All my recollections of Mr. McCulloch in his department—the only place I am sorry to say that I ever met him—are pleasant ones."

I recollect that Mr. Weed did call upon me one Sunday morning, and that I had a pleasant chat with him upon various subjects, but I never heard that he had anything to do with my appointment until I read his autobiography. While it is undoubtedly true that efforts were made on my behalf by the gentlemen I have named, and perhaps by others, I have reason to believe that Mr. Lincoln's mind was turned towards me by the impression which was made upon him by a letter which I addressed, as Comptroller of the Currency, to the national banks, in December, 1863, which he read at the time and was pleased with. A few extracts from this letter may not, therefore, be out of place. After some suggestions in regard to the records of bookkeeping, organizations, etc., etc., I remarked:

"Bear constantly in mind, although the loyal States appear superficially to be in a prosperous condition, that

such is not the fact; that while the Government is engaged in the suppression of a rebellion of unexampled fierceness and magnitude, and is constantly draining the country of its laboring and producing population, and diverting its mechanical industry from works of permanent value to the construction of implements of warfare; while cities are crowded, and the country is to the same extent depleted, and waste and extravagance prevail as they never before prevailed in the United States, the nation, whatever may be the external indications, is not prospering. The war in which we are involved is a stern necessity, and must be prosecuted for the preservation of the Government, no matter what may be its cost; but the country will unquestionably be the poorer every day it is continued. The seeming prosperity of the loyal States is owing mainly to the large expenditures of the Government and the redundant currency which these expenditures seem to render necessary.

"Keep these facts constantly in mind, and manage the affairs of your respective banks with a perfect consciousness that the apparent prosperity of the country will be proved to be unreal when the war is closed, if not before; and be prepared by careful management of the trust committed to you, to help to save the nation from a financial collapse, instead of lending your influence to make it more certain and more severe.

"Let no loans be made that are not secured beyond a reasonable contingency. Do nothing to foster and encourage speculation. Give facilities only to legitimate and prudent transactions. Make your discounts on as short time as the business of your customers will permit, and insist upon the payment of all paper at maturity, no matter whether you need the money or not. Never renew a note or bill merely because you may not know where to place the money with equal advantage if the paper is paid. In no other way can you properly control your discount line, or make it at all times reliable.

"Distribute your loans rather than concentrate them in a few hands. Large loans to a single individual or firm, although sometimes proper and necessary, are generally injudicious, and frequently unsafe. Large borrowers are apt to control the bank; and when this is the relation between a bank and its customers, it is not difficult to decide which in the end will suffer. Every dollar that a bank loans above its capital and surplus it owes for, and its managers are therefore under the strongest obligations to its creditors, as well as to

its stockholders, to keep its discounts constantly under its control.

"Treat your customers liberally, bearing in mind the fact that a bank prospers as its customers prosper, but never permit them to dictate your policy.

"If you doubt the propriety of discounting an offering, give the bank the benefit of the doubt and decline it; never make a discount if you doubt the propriety of doing it. If you have reason to distrust the integrity of a customer, close his account. Never deal with a rascal under the impression that you can prevent him from cheating you. The risk in such cases is greater than the profits.

"In business, know no man's politics. Manage your bank as a business institution, and let no political partiality or prejudice influence your judgment or action in the conduct of its affairs. The national currency system is intended for a nation, not for a party; as far as in you lies, keep it aloof from all partisan influences."

"Pay your officers such salaries as will enable them to live comfortably and respectably without stealing; and require of them their entire services. If an officer lives beyond his income, dismiss him; even if his excess of expenditures can be explained consistently with his integrity, still dismiss him. Extravagance, if not a crime, very naturally leads to crime. A man cannot be a safe officer of a bank who spends more than he earns.

"The capital of a bank should be a reality, not a fiction; and it should be owned by those who have money to lend, and not by borrowers. The Comptroller will endeavor to prevent, by all means within his control, the creation of a nominal capital by national banks, by the use of their circulation, or any other artificial means; and in his efforts to do this, he confidently expects the co-operation of all the well-managed banks.

"Every banker under the national system should feel that the reputation of the system in a measure depends upon the manner in which his particular institution is conducted, and that, as far as his influence and management extend, he is responsible for its success; that he is engaged in an experiment which, if successful, will reflect the highest honor upon all who are connected with it, and be of incalculable benefit to the country; but which, if unsuccessful, will be a reproach to its advocates and a calamity to the people. It should be a chief aim, therefore, of the managers of the banks, to make their respective institutions strong; not only to keep their capital from being impaired, but gradually to create a surplus

that will be a protection to their capital and to their creditors in the trying times that sooner or later happen to all banking institutions. There are few items that have a better look upon the balance-sheet, and none that is better calculated to give aid and comfort to the managers of a bank, and to secure for it the confidence of the people, than a large surplus fund. Create, then, a good surplus, even if you have for a time to keep your stockholders on short commons in the matter of dividends, to do it.

"Pursue a straightforward, upright, legitimate banking business. Never be tempted by the prospect of large returns to do anything but what may be properly done under the National Currency Act. 'Splendid financiering' is not legitimate banking, and 'splendid financiers,' in banking, are generally either humbugs or rascals.

"Recollect, especially at the present time, that it should be the object of all honorable bankers to expedite as far as practicable, rather than to postpone, a return to specie payments. While the exigencies of the nation have required that the issues of the Government should be a legal tender, it must never be forgotten that the business of the country rests upon an unsound basis, or, rather, is without a proper basis, as long as the Government and the banks are not meeting their obligations in coin.

"The eyes of the people are turned to the national banks. The indications are strong that if they are well managed they will furnish the country with its bank-note circulation. It is of the last importance, then, that they should be so managed.

"The sincere efforts of the Comptroller will not be wanting to make the system a benefit to the country. May he not expect that these efforts on his part will be sustained by the efforts of the managers of the banks that have been or may be organizing under it?"

These suggestions I thought were timely as well as sound, and they were so considered by the banks; but one of the Pittsburgh journals, referring to what I said about the condition of the country, denounced me as a copperhead. That an officer of the Government should intimate that the country was not prospering while engaged in a civil war of enormous magnitude, was, in the estimation of the editor of a paper of large circulation, an evidence of disloyalty, for which he should be dismissed.

In the administration of the department, my action was precisely what it would have been had I been managing my own personal affairs. I did what I thought ought to be done, under the authority with which I was clothed, without being influenced by others. Financial matters had not been discussed at the Cabinet meetings before I became Secretary, and they were not as long as I continued in office. Each member had as much as he could do in the management of his own department, and it seemed to be generally understood that each should act independently in the work that was devolved upon him by his position. My policy, therefore, like that of my immediate predecessors, was neither directed nor influenced by my associates in the Cabinet, nor did I think it advisable to go elsewhere for advice. Soon after Mr. Fessenden was appointed Secretary, he thought he should see his way more clearly if he knew what the prominent bankers and merchants of New York would advise in regard to his policy. At his request, therefore, I went to New York, and had a free talk with a number of such men as I knew to be intelligent, and who I thought would give me disinterested opinions. I did not ask them to meet together, but in private interviews I endeavored to obtain from each as much light as he could shed upon the points which were presented to him. I did not expect to gain much by these interviews, but I confess I was disappointed at the want of accord in the opinions that were expressed. They were all high-toned and able men, but I could not avoid the conclusion that all viewed the questions in which Mr. Fessenden was so deeply interested in the light of their own personal interests. This was natural, for no honorable business man ever supposes that his own interests can be antagonistic to those of his Government. There was no accord even among the bankers in regard to what should be the policy of the Secretary. I ought not to have been surprised at this, for I knew that the bankers of New York had always been in the habit of deciding and acting each for him-

self in cases of emergency, without reference to the opinions and action of others—that there was not then and never had been in that city, in times of financial trouble, a banker of such acknowledged superiority that the other bankers would look to him for guidance. In the financial crisis of 1857, I went to New York to look after the interests of the Bank of the State of Indiana, which had large deposits in the banks of that city. Soon after my arrival, I met Thomas Tileston, president of the Phœnix Bank, a banker and merchant of great ability whom I had known for many years. "Well, Mr. McCulloch," said he, "you see how we are here—all pulling and hauling in different directions. What shall we do?" "Call a meeting of the presidents of all the banks," I replied, "and elect a king with full power to compel unity of action, and all will go right." All but the Chemical Bank had suspended specie payments, and in this action only were they in full accord.

On my return to Washington, I gave to Mr. Fessenden an account of my fruitless mission, and said to him: "There is but one thing for you to do, which is, to administer the department in your own way, letting consequences take care of themselves; outside advice will embarrass instead of helping you." When I succeeded Mr. Fessenden, I did what I advised him to do. For any mistakes that were made during my management of the Treasury Department (there were, perhaps, many that I have failed to discern,) I was alone responsible. I have no disposition to refer to the particular measures which were adopted to raise the money which was needed, in addition to the revenues, to relieve the Treasury from embarrassments; to meet the heavy requisitions of the War and Navy departments for the payment of the soldiers and sailors after the war was ended—and to fund temporary loans and early-maturing obligations; but it is proper for me to say something about the general policy that was pursued to bring about these results. This I shall do when I conclude what I have to say

about my administration of the department, by copying a few pages from my last report of December 1, 1868. In October, 1865, seven months after I was appointed Secretary, I went to Fort Wayne to look after some personal matters. While there, I delivered an address at a dinner given in my honor. Upon the currency and the financial outlook, I spoke as follows:

"I am not one of those who seem disposed to repudiate coin as a measure of value, and to make a secured paper currency the standard. On the contrary, I belong to that class of persons who, regarding an exclusive metallic currency as an impracticable thing among an enterprising and commercial people, nevertheless look upon an irredeemable currency as an evil which circumstances may for a time render a necessity, but which is never to be sustained as a policy. By common consent of the nations, gold and silver are the only true measure of value. They are the necessary regulators of trade. I have myself no more doubt that these metals were prepared by the Almighty for this very purpose, than I have that iron and coal were prepared for the purposes for which they are being used. I favor a well-secured convertible paper currency —no other can to any extent be a proper substitute for coin. Of course it is not expected that there shall be a dollar in coin in reserve for every dollar of paper in circulation. This is not necessary. For all ordinary home transactions, a paper currency is sufficient; but there are constantly occurring periods when balances between countries—and in the United States between its different sections—must be settled by coin. These balances are insignificant in amount, in comparison with the transactions out of which they arise, and when a vicious system of credits does not too long postpone settlements, they are arranged without disturbing movements of coin. Whenever specie is needed for such a purpose, or for any other purpose, the paper currency of the country should be convertible into it, and a circulation which is not so convertible will not be, and ought not to be, long tolerated by the people. The present inconvertible currency of the United States was a necessity of the war; but now that the war has ceased, and the Government ought not to be longer a borrower, this currency should be brought up to the specie standard, and I see no way of doing this but by withdrawing a portion of it from circulation.

"I have no faith, sir, in a prosperity which is the effect of a depreciated currency, nor can I see any safe path for us to tread but that which leads to specie payment. The extreme high prices which now prevail in the United States are an unerring indication that the business of the country is in an unhealthy condition. We are measuring values by a false standard. We have a circulating medium altogether larger than is needed for legitimate business; the excess is used in speculations. The United States is to-day the best market in the world for foreigners to sell in, and among the worst to buy in. The consequence is that Europe is selling us more than she buys of us (including our securities, which ought not to go abroad), and there is a debt rolling up against us that must be settled, in part, at least, with coin. The longer the inflation continues, the more difficult will it be for us to get back to the solid ground of specie payments, to which we must return sooner or later. If Congress shall, early in the approaching session, authorize the funding of the legal tenders, and the work of reduction is commenced and carried on resolutely, but carefully, and prudently, we shall reach it probably without serious embarrassment to legitimate business; if not, we shall have a brief period of hollow and seductive prosperity, resulting in wide-spread bankruptcy and disaster.

"There are other objections to the present inflation. It is, I fear, corrupting the public morals. It is converting the business of the country into gambling, and seriously diminishing the labor of the country. This is always the effect of excessive circulation. The kind of gambling which it produces is not confined to the stock and produce boards, where the very terms which are used by the operators indicate the nature of the transactions, but it is spreading through our towns and into the rural districts. Men are apparently getting rich, while morality languishes and the productive industry of the country is being diminished. Good morals in business, and sober, persevering industry, if not at a discount, are considered too old-fogyish for the present times.

"But while I feel anxious about the present inflation, and its effect upon the business and morals of the country, I am hopeful that by wise legislation we shall escape a financial collapse, and I am confident that a grand future is before the United States. I am hopeful that the currency may be brought up to the specie standard without those financial troubles which in all countries have followed protracted and expensive wars. By the experiences of the past four years we are led to the conclusion that our people have a latent power

that will manifest itself when required, and which is equal to any emergency. I have faith, sir, that as we have, to the astonishment of the world, raised immense armies—larger, I apprehend, than any single nation ever brought into the field—and met the enormous expenses of the war without borrowing from other nations, we shall also be able, without a financial crisis, to fund our surplus currency and interest-bearing notes, bring back the business to a specie standard, and place the credit of the country on the most stable and satisfactory basis. If we do this, we shall accomplish what the soundest thinkers in Europe have considered an impossibility, and what no other people but the free and enterprising people of the United States, occupying the grandest country in the world, could accomplish.

"But should we be disappointed in these hopeful expectations; should no early check be put upon the issues of paper money; should prices still further advance and speculation be still further stimulated, and the result thereof be extensive bankruptcy, depression, and hard times, the grand destiny of this country and this government will not be affected.

"The United States occupies the best portion of the temperate zone of a continent stretching out its arms to Europe on the one side and Asia on the other, and producing all articles necessary for the subsistence and comfort of the race. If *cotton* be *king*, he is, thank God, enthroned again in the United States; if *bread* be *king*, where should his capital be but in this great valley of the Mississippi? This nation has within itself everything that is needed to make it the greatest among the family of nations. Coal and iron in juxtaposition and inexhaustible supply; mountains and valleys rich enough in gold and silver to furnish the world, for all time, with what may be needed for circulation and other uses; copper, and lead, and other minerals in no less abundance; a soil of wonderful fertility, a climate salubrious and diversified, and, above all, republican institutions and an energetic and again united people.

"We have, it is true, sir, difficult questions growing out of the war, yet to be settled; but I have an abiding confidence that they will be settled, as they come up for settlement, in such manner as will strengthen the Union and add to our national renown. The labor question at the South is one of those questions, but if there be no outside interference, it will not, I apprehend, be a very difficult one; on the contrary, it is quite likely to be a self-adjusting one. The planter wants the labor of his former slaves, and the high price which

Southern products will command for years to come will enable him to pay liberally for it. The colored people will soon learn that freedom from slavery does not mean freedom from work. The interests of the two races will not long be antagonistic. The whites will need the labor of the blacks, and the blacks will need employment. There is as much danger to be apprehended from the unwillingness of the latter to labor for a support, as from an indisposition on the part of the former to pay fair wages. Like all other economical questions, it will be settled by the necessities and interests of the parties.

"Fortunately for the solution of this question, and the well-being of laboring men generally, capital is not supreme in the United States. It does not, as in most other countries, hold labor under its control, and dole out to it only such remuneration as will make it most productive. Labor is a power in this free country, with its cheap lands which are within the reach of all industrious men, and dictates terms to capital. There is no part of the world where labor is more needed than in the Southern States, nor where it will soon command better prices. This labor question at the South will, I doubt not, be satisfactorily arranged in due time for the best interest of all concerned."

These remarks were favorably commented upon by the leading journals throughout the country, and so great was the demand for the address, in which the political as well as the financial policy of the administration was presented with considerable fulness—that a second edition of it was soon exhausted. In the address I did not refer to the national debt. My views in regard to the debt, and the manner in which it should be treated, were presented in my reports to Congress, a few extracts from which may be of interest even at this late day. The following are from my first report:

"At the close of a great war, which has been waged on both sides with a vigor and energy, and with an expenditure of money, without a precedent in history, the people of the United States are incumbered with a debt which requires the immediate and careful consideration of their representatives. Since the commencement of the special session of 1861, the most important subject which has demanded and received the attention of Congress has been that of providing the means to

prosecute the war; and the success of the Government in raising money is evidence of the wisdom of the measures devised for this purpose, as well as of the loyalty of the people and the resources of the country. No nation, within the same period, ever borrowed so largely, or with so much facility. It is now to be demonstrated that a republican government can not only carry on a war on a most gigantic scale, and create a debt of immense magnitude, but can place this debt on a satisfactory basis, and meet every engagement with fidelity. The same wisdom which has been exhibited by the national councils in providing the means for preserving the national unity, will not be wanting in devising measures for establishing the national credit.

"The maintenance of public faith is a national necessity. Nations do not and cannot safely accumulate moneys to be used at a future day, and exigencies are constantly occurring in which the richest and most powerful are under the necessity of borrowing. The millennial days when nations shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, and learn war no more, are yet, according to all existing indications, far in the future. Weak and defaulting nations may maintain a nominally independent existence, but it will be by reason of the jealousies rather than the forbearance of stronger powers. No nation is absolutely safe which is not in a condition to defend itself; nor can it be in this condition, no matter how strong in other respects, without a well-established financial credit. Nations cannot, therefore, afford to be unfaithful to their pecuniary obligations. Credit to them, as to individuals, is money; and money is the war-power of the age. But for the unfaltering confidence of the people of the loyal States in the good faith of the Government, the late rebellion would have been a success, and this great nation, so rapidly becoming again united and harmonious, would have been broken into weak and belligerent fragments.

"But the public faith of the United States has higher considerations than these for its support. It rests not only upon the interests of the people, but upon their integrity and virtue. The debt of the United States has been created by the people in their successful struggle for undivided and indivisible nationality. It is not a debt imposed upon unwilling subjects by despotic authority, but one incurred by the people themselves for the preservation of their Government; by the preservation of which those who have been leagued together for its overthrow are to be as really benefited as those who have been battling for its maintenance. As it is a debt voluntarily incurred

for the common good, its burdens will be cheerfully borne by the people, who will not permit them to be permanent. The debt is large, but if kept at home, as it is desirable it should be, with a judicious system of taxation, it need not be oppressive. It is, however, a debt. While it is capital to the holders of securities, it is still a national debt, and an incumbrance upon the national estate. Neither its advantages nor its burdens, are, or can be, shared or borne equally by the people. Its influence is anti-republican. It adds to the power of the executive by increasing federal patronage. It must be distasteful to the people because it fills the country with informers and tax-gatherers. It is dangerous to the public virtue because it involves the collection and disbursement of vast sums of money, and renders rigid national economy almost impracticable. It is, in a word, a national burden, and the work of removing it, no matter how desirable it may be for individual investment, should not be long postponed.

"As all true men desire to leave to their heirs unincumbered estates, so should it be the ambition of the people of the United States to relieve their descendants of this national mortgage. We need not be anxious that future generations shall share the burden with us. Wars are not at an end, and posterity will have enough to do to take care of the debts of their own creation.

"Various plans have been suggested for the payment of the debt, but the Secretary sees no way of accomplishing it but by an increase of the national income beyond the national expenditures. In a matter of so great importance as this, experiments are out of place. The plain, beaten path of experience is the only safe one to tread. The first step to be taken is to institute measures for funding the obligations that are soon to mature. The next is to provide for raising, in a manner the least odious and oppressive to tax-payers, the revenue necessary to pay the interest on the debt, and a certain definite amount annually for the reduction of the principal. The Secretary respectfully suggests that on this subject the expression of Congress should be decided and emphatic. It is of the greatest importance, in the management of a matter of so surpassing interest, that the right start should be made. Nothing but revenue will sustain the national credit, and nothing less than a fixed policy for the reduction of the public debt will be likely to prevent its increase."

In my second report, I referred to it in the following language:

"The idea that a national debt can be anything less than a burden in which there are some compensations, but still a burden—a mortgage upon the property and industry of the people—is, fortunately, not an American idea. In countries in which the public expenditures are so heavy, or the resources are so small, that no reduction of their debts is practicable, and where national securities become monopolized capital in the hands of moneyed aristocracies, who not only absorb the means, but give direction to the sentiments of the people, public debts may be regarded as public blessings; but no such fallacy will ever be countenanced by the free and intelligent people of the United States.

"Nothing in our history has created so much surprise, both at home and abroad, as the reduction of our national debt. The wonder excited by the rapidity with which it was created, is greatly exceeded by admiration of the resolution of the tax-payers themselves that it shall be speedily extinguished. The conviction is becoming fastened upon the popular mind that it is important for economy in the national expenses, for the maintenance of a true democracy in the administration of the Government, for the cause of good morals and public virtue, that the policy for a steady annual reduction of the debt should be definitely and inexorably established. Nothing short of this, and that economy in the national expenditures which will render it practicable, will reconcile the people to the burdens of taxation. A national debt must be a severe strain upon republican institutions, and ours should not be subject to it one day longer than is necessary."

In my third I referred to it as follows:

"The right start in the direction suggested has been made. Since the first day of September, 1865, the debt has been reduced $266,185,121.43. Now if such a reduction could be made while the industry of one-third part of the country, by reason of the war and the unsettled state of its political affairs, has been exceedingly depressed, and the other two-thirds have by no means exerted their full productive power; if such a reduction could be made, notwithstanding the liberal miscellaneous appropriations by Congress, the payment of bounties, and the great expense of maintaining large military forces upon the frontier and in the Southern States, can there be any good reason why the reduction, so successfully commenced under the most inauspicious circumstances, should not be continued steadily and without interruption until every dollar of

it is extinguished. The Secretary indulges the hope that the policy which has been inaugurated, and which, in his judgment, is so essential to the national credit, if not to the preservation of republican institutions, will not be abandoned. Old debts are hard debts to pay. The longer they are continued, the more odious do they become. If the present generation should throw the burden of this debt upon the next, it will be quite likely to be handed down from one generation to another, a perpetual, if not a constantly-increasing burden upon the people. Our country is full of enterprise and resources. The debt will be lightened every year with great rapidity by the increase of wealth and population. With a proper reduction in the expenses of the Government, and with a revenue system adapted to the industry of the country, and not oppressing it, the debt may be paid before the expiration of the present century. The wisdom of a policy which shall bring about such a result, is vindicated in advance by the history of nations whose people are burdened with inherited debts, and with no prospect of relief for themselves or their posterity."

And in my fourth and last report, I remarked:

"The Secretary has noticed, with deep regret, indications of a growing sentiment in Congress—notwithstanding the favorable exhibits which have been from time to time made of the debt-paying power of the country—in favor of a postponement of the payment of the principal of the debt until the national resources shall be so increased as to make the payment of it more easy. If this sentiment shall so prevail as to give direction to the action of the Government, he would feel that a very great error had been committed, which could hardly fail to be a serious misfortune to the country. The people of the United States will never be so willing to be taxed for the purpose of reducing the debt as at the present time. Now, the necessity for its creation is better understood and appreciated than it can be at a future day. Now, it is regarded by a large majority of tax-payers as a part of the great price paid for the maintenance of the Government, and therefore a sacred debt. The longer the reduction of it is postponed, the greater will be the difficulties in the way of accomplishing it, and the more intolerable will seem to be the burden of taxation."

From these extracts it will be noticed that in all my reports I spoke of the debt as one that ought not to be perpetuated.

In fact the discussion of the debt and the currency question constituted a large part of my annual reports to Congress. The views which I presented in regard to the national debt were received with favor, and the policy of steadily redeeming it has been adhered to, until this great national debt, which twenty years ago was by many regarded with gloomy forebodings as to its burdens and its effects upon our republican institutions, has been so reduced in amount, and in the rate of interest which it bears, that it has ceased to be burdensome.

Many things have occurred in the United States within the last quarter of a century to excite surprise on the other side of the Atlantic, but nothing has been so surprising as the rapid progress that has been made in the payment of our public debt. That the reduction should have been commenced within seven months from the close of a war of unequalled cost, and continued through years of great financial depression, is about the last thing that the advocates or supporters of monarchy expected from a republican government.

CHAPTER XVII.

The House on the 18th of December, 1865, by Vote of 144 to 6, Approved my Recommendation for the Withdrawal of the Legal-tender Note—In April Following an Act was Passed Authorizing the Withdrawal and Cancellation of Ten Millions of Legal Tenders in Six Months, and Four Millions per Month Thereafter—Under this Act Forty-eight Millions of Legal-tender Notes Cancelled—Market not Affected by the Reduction—Increase of Issue, in Panic of 1873—Francis E. Spinner, Treasurer—His Character—Panics and their Cause—Speculation in the Timbered Lands of Maine—Financial Crisis of 1857—Charles Francis Adams's Letter to Sydney Brooks in Regard to President Johnson's Message, and the Secretary of the Treasury's Report—Mr. Gladstone's Remarks—President Johnson's First Message.

THE views which I presented in my Fort Wayne address, and at length in my annual reports upon the currency, were also favorably regarded when first presented. In my first report I expressed the opinion that the legal-tender notes were issued as a war measure, and as a war measure only; that the Government of the United States was one of limited and defined powers; that the authority to issue notes as money was neither expressly given to Congress, nor fairly inferable from the powers actually granted; that the authority of Congress to issue obligations for a circulating medium as money could only be found in an unwritten law, which sanctions whatever may be done by the national legislature for the preservation of the national life; that a permanent government circulation would be in the way of public economy, and would give to the party in power the means of perpetuating its control of the Government; that what the country needed for a paper circulating medium was not United States notes, the amount of which might depend upon the temporary necessities of the treasury, or party interests—but a currency that might be expanded or diminished according to the demands of trade, and which could and would be supplied by the national banks.

After exhausting all the arguments I could command against the continued issue of legal-tender notes, I recommended that the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized to sell United States bonds, and with the proceeds of sales gradually to retire the legal-tender notes from circulation. So favorably was the recommendation received that, on the 18th of December, the following resolution was adopted in the House, by the decisive vote of 144 to 6,—to wit: "Resolved, That this House cordially concurs in the view of the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the necessity of a contraction of the currency, with a view to as early a resumption of specie payments as the business interests of the country will permit; and we hereby pledge co-operative action to this end as speedily as practicable." Nothing, however, in this direction was done until April, 1866, when an act was passed that ten millions of dollars of the United States notes should be cancelled within six months from the passage of the act, and not more thereafter than four millions of dollars in any one month.

This was not what I wanted, for I knew there would be months in which much more than four millions could be withdrawn without affecting the market; and other months when the withdrawal of a much smaller amount would cause considerable stringency. What I did want was authority to retire the legal-tender notes as rapidly as it could be be done, without affecting injuriously industry and trade. I did, however, the best I could under the act to bring about what I thought the best interests of the country required. While in no month were more than four millions of dollars withdrawn and cancelled, there were some months in which a less amount, or none, was withdrawn. The whole amount of United States notes retired and cancelled before, in obedience to what seemed to be the public sentiment, further reduction was prohibited by Congress, was, if I rightly recollect, forty-eight millions of dollars, and so little did this reduction of the amount in circulation affect the markets, that no one outside of the depart-

ment would have known that what was called contraction was going on but for the monthly published statements of the condition of the treasury. It was an unreasonable apprehension of what might be the effect of this contraction, rather than what it was, that raised the outcry against it.

This fact was illustrated by an incident which caused some merriment in the treasurer's office. Every day (except Sundays) for nearly four years I wrote to Mr. Vandyck, the Assistant Treasurer at New York (an admirable officer he was), and he wrote to me, so that I was kept constantly advised of the condition and feeling of Wall Street, the grand centre of financial influence. One day I received a letter from him informing me that the market was becoming tight, and that he feared there would be a panic if the monthly report, which was to be prepared and published the next day, exhibited the usual monthly reduction of the volume of United States notes. Early the next morning I received a telegram to the same effect. We were just then in the midst of the work of funding the seven-and-three-tenths notes, which would be seriously interrupted by a Wall Street panic; so I sent for the Treasurer, General Spinner, and showed to him the letter and telegram. "Have you," I asked, "the $4,000,000 of United States notes which were to be retired and cancelled this month?" "I have," he replied. "Has the account with the United States notes been credited with the amount?" "It has not." "Keep them," I said, "in the treasury, with the other currency on hand, so that the report will not show any reduction for the month." This was done, and when the regular monthly report, which was published the next day, showed no reduction of the volume of these notes, although the four millions were in the treasury vaults, Wall Street was relieved, and all indications of a stringent money market disappeared. I have no doubt that all of the United States notes might have been gradually withdrawn from circulation without prejudice to legitimate business. For more than fifty years I

have been a careful observer of the course of trade and the general range of prices in the United States, and of the causes which have affected the market value of our agricultural and manufacturing productions. I have known prices to be advanced by foreign demand, or by temporary deficiency of supply, but more frequently by speculation, induced and fostered by redundant currency. I have known prices to decline by the reaction of speculation, and by diminutions of the home or foreign demands, but I have never known our farm products or manufactured goods to fail to bring what they were worth, at home or abroad, by reason of insufficient supply of money or of its representatives. Nevertheless, there is scarcely anything that the people more desire than an abundant circulating medium, no matter what may be its intrinsic value, if it answer the purpose of money; or more dread than a contraction of the supply. The policy of retiring the United States notes, even when they were at a heavy discount, was never popular with the masses, and the opposition to it became so strong that it was discontinued when the reduction reached the amount I have named.

These notes are now, nominally at least, redeemable in gold; they have been declared by the Supreme Court to be lawful money; they are the most popular currency which has been known, and consequently the amount now in circulation will never be reduced; on the contrary, there will be an increase whenever the people demand it. The amount was increased some eighteen or twenty millions in 1873, by what was called a re-issue of notes which had been redeemed and cancelled by the authority of Congress many years before. This so-called re-issue, which was, in fact, an over-issue, was expected to check the financial crisis, which, commencing in New York on what was called Black Friday, was spreading over the country; but it was powerless even to abate the violence of the storm which had been long gathering below the financial horizon.

As I have mentioned the name of General Spinner, I must say something more about him. He was appointed United States Treasurer in 1861, when the treasury was in the condition I have described; when the business of the office could have been properly performed by a dozen competent clerks. It grew to its present magnificent proportions while he was Treasurer. A more trustworthy, conscientious, upright man, than Francis E. Spinner never held an office under this Government, or any other. Until I knew him, I had not met a man with more disposition or capacity for hard work than myself. In General Spinner, I found in this respect, as well as in many others, my superior. He worked constantly from nine to ten hours a day, and when business was unusually pressing, his working hours were extended to from twelve to fifteen. He liked the place, was familiar with its business to the minutest detail, and he ought to have remained in it until he was no longer able to perform its duties. His name should be inscribed high in the roll of honor for meritorious services at a time when the Government was greatly in need of such services as he was able to render, and heartily rendered. His resignation was caused by a disagreement between himself and the Secretary about appointments to his bureau. As he was a bonded officer, he thought, and correctly, that he should control the appointment of clerks for whose acts he was responsible. He did control them when I was Secretary, as he did under Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Chase.

It must not be understood from anything I have said that I have not observed financial troubles that were not caused by excessive issue of paper currency. They have sometimes been caused by an improper use of individual credit, but they have invariably followed imprudent speculation, superinduced by the one or the other. The first mania for speculation of which I have any knowledge occurred some fifty-five years ago, in Maine, when there was no expansion of the currency. Speculation in Maine! think of it, ye dwellers in the sunny

South, who look upon Maine as a hyperborean region, where in winter there is no day—in summer no night! It was even so. The wildest speculation that has ever prevailed in any part of the United States, was in the timber lands of Maine. In 1832, or about that time (I am not precise as to dates when precision in this respect is of no importance), it became known to people in Massachusetts, that a good deal of money was being made by a few investors in the Maine timber lands. A large part of Maine was then covered by a magnificent forest chiefly of pine trees, and the lands upon which they stood were rapidly becoming valuable; their value, however, being mainly dependent upon their contiguity to streams that were large enough to float logs to the mills, which were near navigable waters. These lands were offered for sale by the State at very low prices, and those who bought early and judiciously did make what were then considered large fortunes by their investments. It was not long before reports of their gains went out from the neighborhood to which they had been confined, and, as is usual with such reports, they were magnified as they were repeated, until almost everybody in New England who heard them was seized with a desire to speculate in Maine lands.

The desire soon became so strong, and the excitement so great, that a courier line was established between Boston and Bangor, by which orders first to buy, and subsequently to sell, were rapidly transmitted, and for months little was talked about but Maine lands. Brokers' offices were opened in Bangor, which were crowded from morning till night, and frequently far into the night, by buyers and sellers. All were jubilant, because all, whether buyers or sellers, were getting rich. Not one in fifty knew anything about the lands he was buying, nor did he care to know as long as he could sell at a profit. Lands bought one day were sold the next day at a large advance. Buyers in the morning were sellers in the afternoon. The same lands were bought and sold over and

over again, until lands which had been bought originally for a few cents per acre, were sold for half as many dollars. As is always the case when speculation is rampant, and inexperienced men (lambs they are called in Wall Street) become speculators, dishonesty was in the ascendant. In the interest of large holders, maps were prepared, on which lands were represented as lying upon water courses which were scores of miles away from them. The speculative fever centred in Bangor, but ran high in Boston and the neighboring towns. On a small scale the mania resembled that which convulsed England near the end of the last century, when the worthless one-pound shares of "John Law's Company of the Indies" (the South Sea Bubble it was called after it collapsed) went up day by day until they were sold at forty.

It happened strangely enough that the largest losers in this Maine land speculation were prudent men who kept aloof from it until it had reached the highest point, and the tide was ready to turn. They listened contemptuously to the early reports which were in circulation of the wealth which some of their neighbors had suddenly acquired; but as report confirmed report, their prudence gave way, and they determined to make up by large purchases what they had lost by delay. I heard of the following occurrence which I will relate, as it shows how the game was sometimes played. A company of men in Worcester, Massachusetts, who were supposed to have made a good deal of money by operations in these lands, offered to some of their neighbors a large tract, at what they said was a low price. These neighbors were prudent men, who although inclined to take a hand in what was going on, were not disposed to buy, as the boys swapped knives, "sight unseen." So they employed an agent to examine the land before accepting the offer. The day after the agent reached Bangor, a man of agreeable address was introduced to him as a large operator in lands, with whom he had a free and pleasant conversation, in the course of which

the stranger inquired if he knew the owners of a tract of land (the very tract that the agent had come to examine) which he was anxious to get hold of, and for which, if it could be obtained within a couple of weeks, he would pay a certain price per acre, naming a much larger price than it had been offered at to his employers. The agent did not give the stranger the desired information, but he thought that as delay might be dangerous, he ought to spend no time in examining the land, and the next day he was on his way back to Worcester. He reported to his employers immediately upon his arrival, and advised them to buy. His advice was followed. The land was purchased, and in a few days the agent was in Bangor again with authority to sell. To his dismay the stranger had disappeared, and his whereabouts were unknown to the proprietor of the hotel, and to everybody else of whom inquiry was made. It was a well-concocted swindle. The land was found to be well timbered, but it was far distant from any stream large enough to float logs, and it could not be sold for a quarter of the price that had been paid for it.

I have referred to this speculation in the timbered lands of Maine—the wildest and most disastrous to most of those who were engaged in it, that had ever been witnessed in the United States—because I was greatly interested in it while it was in progress, and because it shows that there may be speculation which is neither caused nor fostered by excessive currency. At that time the circulating medium was specie and bank notes, the supply of which was very limited. Personal obligations became, therefore, the medium of exchange, and were freely given, and as freely taken. Purchases and sales were made chiefly upon credit. Very little money was handled in the transactions, whether large or small. It was upon promissory notes that the gambling fabric rested, and when the explosion took place, it was these promissory notes, for which nothing available for their payment had been received, that brought ruin to many hundreds of households. Of the two

evils—excessive circulation of paper money, and excessive use of personal credit—the former is the lesser, but both lead in the same direction—to dangerous enterprises; to efforts to make money rapidly, and not by persistent industry; to speculation; to panics. In all the great and wide-spread financial troubles that have come upon the country, the two have been united. Those of 1873 I have already spoken of. The following is a part of what I said of that of 1837 and 1857 in my first report:

"The great expansion of 1835 and 1836, ending with the terrible financial collapse of 1837, from the effects of which the country did not rally for years, was the consequence of excessive bank circulation and discounts, and an abuse of the credit system, stimulated in the first place by Government deposits with the State banks, and swelled by currency and credits until, under the wild spirit of speculation which invaded the country, labor and production decreased to such an extent that the country, which should have been the great food-producing country of the world, became an importer of breadstuffs.

"The balance of trade had been for a long time favorable to Europe and against the United States, and also in favor of the commercial cities along the sea-board and against the interior, but a vicious system of credits prevented the prompt settlement of balances. The importers established large credits abroad, by means of which they were enabled to give favorable terms to jobbers. The jobbers in turn were thus, and by liberal accommodations from the banks, able to give their own time to country merchants, who, in turn, sold to their customers on indefinite credit. It seemed to be more reputable to borrow money than to earn it, and pleasanter, and apparently more profitable to speculate than to work; and so people ran headlong into debt, labor decreased, production fell off, and ruin followed.

"The financial crisis of 1857 was the result of a similar cause, namely, the unhealthy extension of the various forms of credit. But, as in this case the evil had not been long at work, and productive industry had not been seriously diminished, the reaction, though sharp and destructive, was not general, nor were the embarrassments resulting from it protracted."

Credits on the one hand, debts on the other—and it is their undue extension, no matter whether it be by the Government, or corporations, or individuals, that produce financial troubles, the severity of which can be measured by the extent of the cause. These troubles will come upon all free and enterprising nations. They have been and they will continue to be most frequent in this country, because there are more freedom and enterprise here than in any other nation. All that can be required of the Government is that it should do nothing to bring them about by the issue of its own notes, or by lowering the standard of value.

No head of one of our great departments ever prepared his first report to Congress without being anxious about the manner in which it might be received. I recollect how Mr. Fessenden, one of the ablest and most facile writers of the day, was troubled about his. In my case, there was cause for special anxiety. I was not, like Mr. Fessenden, a practised writer, and as the war had been ended, it was my duty (as I thought) to present my views in regard to what should be the action of Congress upon the important questions—currency and debt—which demanded prompt and careful consideration. The report was written in my house at night after hard days' work in the department. I lacked time to condense it, and I was disgusted with it when it was finished and sent to the printers. I was therefore surprised and gratified by the general favor with which it was received. Scores of letters, from strangers as well as friends, came to me daily for weeks, strongly commending it. It was very favorably noticed and commented on by the leading journals in the United States, and also by the English. The *London Times* reviewed it at length, and pronounced it very able.

But none of the compliments which I received pleased me so much as the following extract of a letter under date of May 4, 1866, from our Minister to England, Charles Francis Adams, to his brother-in-law, Sidney Brooks. I copy it be-

cause it is complimentary to Mr. Johnson, who was rarely complimented after he became President.

"The annual message, and the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, raised the character of the nation immensely in Europe; I know of nothing better in the annals even when Washington was chief and Hamilton his financier."

All of my reports were well received, but the only one that I was satisfied with was that of 1867. It certainly did not merit the praise which it received, but upon reading it carefully, twenty years after it was written, I do not see anything that I would expunge.

In speaking in the House of Commons of my report of 1866, and of my administration of the treasury, Mr. Gladstone used the following language: "Let us not be ashamed to follow a good example whenever we may find it, or to render a just tribute of admiration to the courage and forethought of the American people, who are at this moment braving a large burden of taxation, both in its amount and kind, which makes their conduct a marvel because they believe that the true secret of their future power lies in the steady and rapid reduction of their debt. I am sure the prevailing sentiment of the House will be to convey to the American people, to the authorities there, and to the able and enlightened Minister of Finance (Mr. McCulloch) our hearty congratulations and our best wishes that he may long continue to apply the same vigorous and prudent hand in thus wisely administering the resources of his country."

President Johnson's first message, to which Mr. Adams referred in his letter to Mr. Brooks, was an admirable paper. It was written before the President had wandered so far from right thought as to express the opinion, as he afterwards did, that the holders of the United States bonds ought not to receive in payment thereof any more than the Government received for them in real money; that inasmuch as the bonds had been paid for in notes, which, measured by gold, were not

worth more than fifty per cent. of their face value, the payment of the interest for sixteen years ought to extinguish the principal. In expressing this opinion the President not only indicated disregard of the obligations of contracts, but he overlooked the fact that when these bonds were subscribed and paid for, the Government was engaged in a civil war the result of which was by no means certain, and that investments in them were regarded rather as an evidence of loyalty than of business sagacity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Assassination of Mr. Lincoln—Mr. Lincoln on the Morning of the Assassination—Attempted Assassination of Mr. Seward—Execution of some of the Assassins and of Mrs. Surratt—Indications of a Panic in Wall Street—The Iron-clad Oath—President's Message transmitting Letter of Secretary of Treasury, asking Modification thereof—Senators Sherman and Sumner's Remarks thereon—Sumner's Character and Appearance—Captured and Abandoned Property—Difficulty in Executing the Law—Wm. E. Chandler Assistant Secretary—His valuable Services—John Hartley—Revenue Commissioners David A. Wells, Stephen Colwell, S. S. Hayes—Mr. Wells Sole Commissioner.

THE rejoicings of the people of the loyal States over the end of the war and the preservation of the Union were suddenly changed into the deepest sorrow by the assassination of Mr. Lincoln.

I never saw Mr. Lincoln so cheerful and happy as he was on the day of his death. The burden which had been weighing upon him for four long years, and which he had borne with heroic fortitude, had been lifted; the war had been practically ended; the Union was safe. The weary look which his face had so long worn, and which could be observed by those who knew him well, even when he was telling humorous stories, had disappeared. It was bright and cheerful. As he took me by the hand when I was about to leave the White House, he said: We must look to you, Mr. Secretary, for the money to pay off the soldiers." "I shall look to the people," I replied; "they have not failed us thus far, and I don't think they will now." A few hours after I saw him unconscious and dying.

In the evening of the 13th of April, 1865, I had just gone to my sleeping-room when I was startled by a knocking at the door, and the cry, "Mr. Seward has been murdered!" Almost at the same instant there was a more violent knocking, and as

I opened the door, I met Mr. Walker, the photographer of the Treasury Department, so breathless from running that he could hardly utter the words: "The President has been shot at the theatre." My lodgings were in one of the Cass houses, now a part of the Arlington Hotel, not more than a stone's throw from the house occupied by Mr. Seward, to which I immediately ran. The outside door was open, and I saw no one as I went up the stairs and through the hall to Mr. Seward's sleeping-room, except Mrs. Frederick Seward, who was just entering another room, to attend as I heard afterwards, upon her husband, whose skull had been fractured by a blow from her father-in-law's assailant, whom he had met at the head of the stairs and tried to arrest. As I entered Mr. Seward's room, Miss Seward left it, and I was for a minute or two alone with her father. He had been raised from the floor, upon which he had thrown himself in his efforts to escape the murderous blows that had been aimed at him, and he lay on his blood-stained bed, with his wounds still bleeding. As I took his hand he opened his eyes, and seemed to recognize me, but he immediately closed them again, and became apparently unconscious. His wounds were ghastly, but they did not seem to be fatal. His breathing was regular, and his pulse was full and strong. Some days before he had been thrown from his carriage and his jaw had been fractured. To keep the bones in place, an elastic wire bandage had been placed upon one side of his face, extending down to the throat. This bandage prevented at least one of the blows of his powerful assailant from being a death blow. It was aimed at the throat, but the bowie knife, although wielded by a strong hand, was diverted when it struck the bandage, and failed to inflict a deadly wound. The life of Mr. Seward was, however, saved by his army nurse, George F. Robinson, who was in attendance upon him. As the assassin entered the room, and, knife in hand, was rushing to the bed upon which his intended victim was lying, the servant, although greatly inferior in strength, seized

hold of his left arm, and prevented him from using his right arm with its full force. As soon as Mr. Seward had thrown himself from the bed to the floor, the assassin turned upon Robinson, gave him a staggering blow, dashed through the hall and down the stairs, and in a moment he was on the horse which he had left standing by the sidewalk, and was away. Some days after, he was arrested in the house of Mrs. Surratt, which he had entered disguised as a laborer.

As soon as a surgeon and one or two friends of Mr. Seward entered the room, I left it to learn the fate of Mr. Lincoln. I had not gone far towards the White House before I met a number of men who told me that he was not there. I then ran down the Avenue to F Street, down F to Tenth Street, and thence to the theatre, around which a large crowd had gathered, through which I pushed my way to a house opposite the theatre, into which I heard that he had been carried, and presently I was at the bedside of the dying President. Mr. Stanton, Mr. Wells, Mr. Dennison, and Mr. Speed, members of the Cabinet, were already there. Surgeon-General Barnes, General Meigs, Mr. Sumner, and a number of other friends of the President, were also present. The death-like paleness of Mr. Lincoln's upturned face, his stertorous breathing, and the grief-stricken countenances of the men around him, indicated too clearly as I entered the room that his case was hopeless. All night we stood or sat silent by his bedside. Not a word was spoken except by Mr. Stanton, who in undertones gave directions through messengers to army officers to guard the exits from the city, to prevent, if it might be possible, the escape of the assassins. Once only was the impressive silence broken, when Mrs. Lincoln came in, and, kneeling by the bed, and clasping a hand of her unconscious husband, gave vent to her irrepressible grief in tones that pierced every heart, and brought tears to every eye. When she was led away, silence again prevailed, and it continued

unbroken until seven o'clock in the morning, when the death shade came over his face, and Mr. Lincoln was at rest.

It had been a sleepless night in Washington. The theatre in which Mr. Lincoln was shot was well filled, and consequently there were hundreds to spread the shocking tidings throughout the city. Houses were deserted; women as well as men flocked to the streets, but there was little heard except the tramp of feet in the crowded thoroughfares. The feeling was too deep for noisy expression. But I need not dwell upon a scene which has been frequently described by other pens. John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of Mr. Lincoln, the small bone of one of his legs having been broken as he leaped from the box occupied by Mr. Lincoln to the stage, and who must have suffered almost unbearable agony in his efforts to escape, was shot by one of his pursuers. Lewis Paine, the assailant of Mr. Seward, David E. Harrold, George A. Adzerodt, Mary E. Surratt, Samuel A. Mudd, Michael O'Laughlin, Edward Spangle, and Samuel H. Arnold were tried by a military commission for conspiracy and murder. Paine, Harrold, Adzerodt, and Mrs. Surratt were found guilty of murder and condemned to die. Mudd, Arnold and O'Laughlin were found guilty of conspiracy, and were sentenced to imprisonment for life; Spangler to imprisonment for six years. The finding of the court was approved by the President, on the sixth of July, and those who were condemned to die were executed the very next day, Mrs. Surratt having pleaded in vain for a respite of a few days. After her execution, there was a general feeling of regret that her punishment had not been commuted from death to imprisonment. The evidence on which she was convicted would not have satisfied an impartial jury. Her complicity in the assassination was not clearly proven, and the sternest justice in her case would have been satisfied with a lesser punishment. The most pitiful object that I ever beheld was the prostrate form of Miss Surratt (who was said to be an amiable and accomplished young lady), upon the main staircase of the Executive

Mansion, in the morning of the day of her mother's execution. She had come to plead for her mother's life, and having failed to obtain admission to the President, she had fainted in descending the stairs. There was, I am sure, no foundation for the report, which many believed, that Mr. Stanton's life was shortened by remorse for his agency in the prosecution and execution of Mrs. Surratt; but I know that President Johnson deeply regretted that he did not favorably consider the petitions that were made for a commutation of her punishment, and that he especially regretted that he ordered the writ of *habeas corpus*, issued by Judge Wiley, on the morning of her execution, to be disregarded. The facts that the trial was before a military commission, months after the war was ended; that the male criminals were manacled during the trial; that from those (with the exception of Mrs. Surratt) upon whom sentence of death was pronounced the shackles were not removed when they were executed, indicated how justice could be strained and humanity deadened when public vengeance was thoroughly aroused.

There were real indications of a panic in Wall Street the next morning after Mr. Lincoln's death, and fears were expressed that there might be a real panic, which, in the condition of the Treasury, would be a very serious matter. A few bonds were offered at some points below the market rates of the day before. Through a trusted agent, they were purchased by Mr. John A. Stewart, the Assistant Treasurer, under instructions which I had given him, and the market at once resumed a healthy tone. A few days after, the bonds were disposed of with a profit to the Treasury. This was an occasion when it would not have been safe to leave the interests of the Government to take care of themselves or to be controlled by Wall Street. To meet the pressing demands upon the Treasury, a large amount of securities were soon to be sold. A panic, therefore, was to be prevented before it had obtained headway, and it was prevented by the prompt and prudent

action of Mr. Stewart. In one or two other cases the market was steadied in the same way.

When the war ended, and it became necessary to enforce the revenue laws in the Southern States, an important question came up for decision. The law required that all civil officers should take what was called the Iron-clad Oath—an oath that they had not in any way or manner aided the rebellion—an oath that very few Southern men could take. The question then to be met was, Shall this oath be required as an indispensable qualification for appointees to Southern revenue offices? The same question arose in regard to appointments in the postal service. It was carefully considered at a Cabinet meeting, and the conclusion was that men might be appointed who could not take the oath if such appointments should be necessary in order to establish the revenue and postal service in the Southern States. On this point the Cabinet was a unit. I recollect perfectly that Mr. Stanton expressed his opinion with his usual directness. The Act, he said, was passed under circumstances very different from those now existing, and ought to be disregarded when it stood in the way of the enforcement of the revenue laws, or even the restoration of the postal service. According to this conclusion, a number of men were appointed revenue officers and postmasters in the Southern States who could only take an oath for the faithful performance of their duties and obedience to the Constitution of the United States. I was careful, as was the Postmaster-General, Mr. Dennison, that no one should be appointed who could be justly charged with having instigated the rebellion. Upon the meeting of Congress, an appropriation was asked to pay the appointees for the services they had rendered. Objections were made to such an appropriation, on the ground that the appointments had been in violation of law, and a resolution was adopted by the House calling upon the President for the names of those who had been appointed without taking the required oath, and for the reasons of their appointment. The

resolution was referred by the President to me and to the Postmaster-General. Our replies were addressed to the President, and by him were sent to Congress with his approval. I copy my reply, because I think, now, as I thought then, that it stated the case fairly, and because it expressed what I thought ought to be the policy of the Government towards the Southern States:

"The following message from the President of the United States, transmitting communications from the Secretary of the Treasury and Postmaster-General, suggesting a modification of the oath of office prescribed by Congress, approved July 2, 1862, was laid before the House, April 6, 1866:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives:

"I herewith transmit communications from the Secretary of the Treasury and the Postmaster-General, suggesting a modification of the oath of office prescribed by Congress, approved July 2, 1862. I fully concur in their recommendation, and, as the subject pertains to the efficient administration of the revenue and postal laws in the Southern States, I earnestly commend it to the early consideration of Congress.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Washington, D. C., *April* 5, 1866.

"Treasury Department, *March* 19, 1866.

"Sir: Herewith I hand you the names of collectors of internal revenue, assessors, assistant assessors, collectors and surveyors of customs, etc., etc., appointed since the overthrow of the rebellion in the Southern States, who have not been able to take, literally, the oath of office prescribed by the Act approved July 2, 1862. Besides these officers, a considerable number, perhaps the larger proportion of those holding subordinate positions in the revenue departments, have been also unable to comply with the requirements of the statute. As a consequence, they have served without compensation, as their accounts could not be audited by the accounting officers of the Government. Many of these officers have performed very important duties with fidelity, and not a few must be in great distress by reason of their inability to draw their salaries and commissions.

"When these appointments were made, it was feared that it would be difficult to find competent officers in many of the

Southern revenue districts who could take the oath referred to, but so important did it seem to you and to your Cabinet, for the purpose of equalizing the public burdens, that the revenue system should be established throughout the recently rebellious States with as little delay as practicable, and that the unpleasant duty of collecting taxes from an exhausted and recently rebellious people should be performed by their own citizens, that I did not hesitate to recommend for appointment, and you did not hesitate to appoint, men of whose present loyalty there was no question, but who might have been, either willingly or unwillingly, during the progress of the rebellion, so connected with the insurgent State and Confederate governments as to be unable to take the oath of office. This was not done from any disposition to disregard the law, but with an honest and sincere purpose of collecting the revenue with as little odium to the tax-payers as possible.

"The country was in a peculiar condition. The rebellion had come to a sudden close. All resistance to the authority of the United States had ceased, and some seven millions of people, in a state of utter disorganization, were left without any civil government whatever, and without even an adequate military protection against anarchy and violence. Under these circumstances, as it seemed to be clearly the duty of the Executive to proceed at once to establish the Federal authority and civil government in these States, so it seemed to be necessary to carry into effect the revenue laws of the general Government. As the country was passing from a state of war to a state of peace, and the emergency seemed to be too pressing to admit of delay until the meeting of Congress, it was thought that the Test Oath might, in view of the great objects to be attained, in some cases be dispensed with; or rather, that persons might be permitted to hold revenue offices who could take it only in a qualified form. No one could have regretted more than yourself, and the members of your Cabinet, the necessity which existed for this course; but there seemed to be no alternative, and it was confidently hoped that under the circumstances of the case it would be approved by Congress.

"Among those whose names are presented to you, I have no reason to suppose that there is one who can be justly charged with being instrumental in instigating the rebellion, although a few may have contributed to its support and continuance. Some, with strong attachment for the Union, had followed the States in which they lived into the war against the United States under the baleful influence of the doctrine of

State Soveregnty. Some had held office under the insurgent authorities as the only means of supporting their families; others, to escape conscription, or to be in a better condition to resist, at the proper time, Confederate rule. Not one is known to have been a disunionist, or unfriendly to the Government at the commencement of the war. A very slight change in the oath—a change that would not cover a particle of present disloyalty—would enable the most of them to hold the offices they are now so acceptably filling. Great loss to the Government and great inconvenience to this department must result from the discontinuance of their services; but it is due to them, unless relief should be given to them at an early day, that they should be notified of the fact that, as their services cannot be legally paid for, they will be no longer required. At the same time I would respectfully suggest, if it should be necessary to give them this notice, that Congress be asked that authority be granted for the payment of the salaries and commissions to which they would be entitled had they taken the oath. It is true, they were advised that their accounts could not be audited until Congress had modified the oath; but as they expected, as did yourself and your Cabinet, a modification of it early in the session, and as they have been living and working in this hope, it would seem to be unjust as well as unwise, for the Government to decline paying them for the valuable services which they have rendered.

"In regard to future appointments, I have to say that I am well satisfied that it will be difficult, if not impossible, to find competent men at the South to fill the revenue offices who can qualify under the statute. Especially will this be so in regard to the subordinate positions. In the progress of the rebellion, very few persons of character and intelligence in most of these States failed in some way or other to participate in the hostilities, or to connect themselves with the insurgent government. This is almost universally true of the young men who are expected to fill clerkships and other inferior places in the revenue service. Men of the necessary qualifications who were able to take the oath, and were inclined to accept appointments, have, as far as they could be found, already been employed by the Government. For those offices that must soon become vacant, if Congress should not deem it safe or proper to modify the oath, I am at a loss to know where the right men are to be obtained, or how the revenues in many of the Southern districts are to be collected.

"It is urged, I know, that there are plenty of men at the South who can comply with the statute, and, that if this

should not prove to be the fact, men at the North can be found who will accept prominent offices at the present salaries, and also the subordinate positions, if the proper inducements in the way of increased salaries are held out to them.

"It is true that there are still some applicants for office in Southern States who present what they call 'a clean record for loyalty,' but, with rare exceptions, they are persons who would have been able to present an equally fair record for place under the Confederate Government if the rebellion had been a success, or persons lacking the qualifications which are needed in revenue positions.

"In regard to the matter of compensation, I have only to remark that the law fixes definitely the salaries and commissions of most officers, and that the pay of subordinate officers is altogether inadequate to tempt Northern men to assume the risk and incur the odium of collecting taxes in the Southern States, except, perhaps, in the commercial cities on the seaboard.

"I deem it my duty, further, to remark that I do not consider it advisable for the Government to attempt to collect taxes in the Southern States by the hands of strangers. After having given the subject careful consideration, anxious as I am to increase the revenue and to lighten by distributing and equalizing the burdens of the people, with no party interest to promote, and with nothing but the good of the Government at heart, I have come to the deliberate conclusion that it would be better for the country, politically and financially, to suspend the collection of internal revenue taxes in the Southern States (except in commercial cities) for months, if not for years to come, rather than to undertake to collect them by men not identified with the tax-payers in sympathy or interest.

"The rebellion grew out of an antagonism of opinion between the people of the free and slave States, the legitimate result of a difference of institutions. With the abolition of slavery, all real differences of opinion, and all serious causes of estrangement, ought rapidly to disappear. It will be a calamity, the extent of which cannot now be estimated, both to this nation and to the cause of civil liberty everywhere, if, instead of looking toward reconciliation and harmony, the action of the Government shall tend to harden and intensify sectionalism between the Northern and the Southern States. It is difficult to conceive of a more unfortunate course for the Government of the United States to pursue than to make tax-gatherers at the South of men who are strangers to the people. It needs no reference to history (although it is full of lessons

upon this subject) to illustrate the fatal consequences of such a policy.

"The importance of this subject must be my apology for thus calling your attention to it. I am greatly embarrassed, on the one hand, by the consideration that by sanctioning the longer continuance in office of persons who have not taken the oath I am not acting with entire fairness to them, and am subjected to the charge of disregarding the law; and on the other hand by the consideration that if they should be dismissed or requested to resign, the public revenues would be very considerably diminished, and reconciliation and harmony between the Government and a large portion of its citizens greatly retarded. I would therefore respectfully suggest that the whole matter be referred to Congress for such action as, in their judgment, the interest of the service and the interest of the Union may seem to require.

"THE PRESIDENT."

When the appropriation bill which covered the amount required to pay these officers for the services they had rendered came up for consideration in the Senate, Mr. Sherman, the Chairman of the Finance Committee, explained the case in the following language: "The circumstances which induced the committee to report favorably were very simple. The Secretary found it impossible to find men in some of the counties of the rebel States to discharge the duties of assistant assessors who could take the oath. According to law, they must live in the counties in which they respectively hold office. The Secretary was, therefore, compelled to dispense with a part of the oath in particular cases, and he has now asked to pay these men only up to the first of August."

To this fair and calm statement of the case Mr. Sumner savagely replied: "The Secretary of the Treasury was guilty of an illegal act—nay, more, a crime. He violated the law in appointing men who could not take the oath, and when complaint was made, he replied, in a notorious falsehood, that there were no Union men in the South who could take the oath. This was nothing less than a notorious untruth. Congress has been too lenient towards the crimes of this officer. I will not vote

to pay those rebels; let the Secretary pay them out of his own pocket." Mr. Sumner knew, when he uttered this language, that my action in the appointments referred to was approved by his friend Mr. Stanton, and he knew also, or ought to have known, that there was not a statement in my letter to the President which was not absolutely true. Mr. Sumner disagreed with me upon the suffrage question (there had been some correspondence between us upon this question), and he was angry with me on account of the removal of his brother-in-law from the office of surgeon in the Marine Hospital at San Francisco. The appropriation of money to pay men who had not taken the Test Oath, gave him an opportunity for expressing his bad feeling towards me and the people of the South, which he did in the language I have quoted. There was no personal intercourse between us after that time until we met in London, in 1872 or 1873, where we agreed that bygones should be forgotten, and pleasant relations were established between us, which continued as long as he lived.

Time also brought its healing power to bear upon Mr. Sumner's prejudice against the South. He became not only anxious that good feeling should prevail between the sections, but he took the ground that there ought to be no monuments in the North to remind the people of the South of their humiliation, or to indicate that there had been a civil war. Mr. Sumner was interesting by both his merits and his faults. He was a ripe scholar, an elegant and instructive writer. As an orator, he had few if any superiors. His style was ornate, his delivery impressive. His speeches in the Senate were carefully prepared, and were worthy of the close attention which they received from most of the senators, although they were better fitted for the platform than the halls of legislation. His face was handsome and highly intellectual. He was tall, well formed, and of commanding presence, a "man of mark" in the street or in an assembly. He was also a pure man, a man of unsullied and unassailable integrity. All this can be justly

said of him. On the other hand, his prejudices were hastily formed and violent. His self-esteem was limitless. Impatient of contradiction, his manner to those who differed with him was arrogant and offensive. His ears were ever open to flattery, of which he was omnivorous. His friendship was confined to the very few whom he acknowledged to be his equals, or to the many who looked up to him as a superior. His sympathies were for races—too lofty to descend to persons. For the freedom of the slaves he was an earnest worker; of their claims to all the privileges of freedom, after their emancipation, he was an able and eloquent advocate and defender; but to appeals by needy colored people to his charity, or even his sympathy, he was seemingly indifferent. These constitutional defects in his character did not greatly impair his usefulness, nor lessen the estimation in which he was held by those who knew him well and properly appreciated his excellent qualities and the value of his public services. He was one of the most distinguished of that gallant band whom the slavery question made prominent in the United States, and his name will be at all times and everywhere honored by the lovers of freedom.

The most troublesome and disagreeable duty which I was called upon to perform was in the execution of the law in reference to the property in the Southern States, which had been captured by the Federal armies, or was owned or controlled by the Confederate Government, or abandoned by its owners. All such property as was found within the Federal lines, as the war progressed, and in any of the Southern States after the war was ended, became the property of the United States, and it was the duty of the Treasury Department to adopt rules and appoint agents for its collection. Rules had been prepared and agents had been appointed for this purpose during the war by my predecessors, Mr. Chase and Mr. Fessenden. At the close of the war the field was greatly enlarged, and new rules, and a much larger number of agents were required. The preparation of rules which should strictly define

the duties of the agents was a difficult matter, but this difficulty was small in comparison with that which was encountered in keeping the agents up to, and yet within, the line of their instructions. As they were to be paid for these services by a commission on the property which they collected and secured, there was a strong temptation for them to take possession of property which had not been owned or controlled by the Confederate Government; while on the other hand, the Southern people were still more strongly tempted to claim as their own, or to conceal, property which was liable to seizure. Thus while the agents were disposed to regard all property which they could reach (it was chiefly cotton) as belonging to the United States, the people, or most of them, were disposed to claim as their own private property that which had been bought and paid for by the Confederate Government.

For some time after the war was ended, the Southern States were in a disorganized condition. The Confederate Government having been overthrown, there was no governing power except the Federal military power, and this did not extend much beyond the territory occupied by the Federal troops. Everywhere else there was an absence of recognized authority to which appeal could be made for the protection of private property or for the protection of the Treasury Agents in the performance of their legitimate duties. In these circumstances a good deal of Confederate property was undoubtedly "*spirited away*" (as its disappearance from accessible places was called), and not a little was seized by the agents to which the United States had no claim. As it was my duty to execute the law fairly—to protect the interests of the Government without doing injustice to claimants—I was compelled to give a great deal of time, by night as well as by day, to the investigation and decision of claims upon the Government by real or pretended owners, and that too, when other business of the greatest importance demanded my constant attention. When individual claimants were clearly right, the property

was surrendered. When there was a reasonable doubt as to the ownership, it was retained, and the claimants were left to prosecute their claims in the courts. Although Mr. Eames, an eminent and upright lawyer, was employed as special counsel for the Government in cases of peculiar difficulty, I should have been unable to do what seemed to be absolutely required of the head of the Department in the disposition of these captured and abandoned property cases, but for the very efficient aid which I received from my Assistant Secretary, William E. Chandler.

Mr. Chandler was a stranger to me when, at my request, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; but I knew that, although quite young, he had performed satisfactorily, important duties in the Navy Department, and I was pleased with his appearance. He proved to be just the man I wanted. He was self-possessed, industrious, intelligent, acute; faithful to the Government, and true to me. He had my entire confidence—in no one could it have been more safely reposed. Since then he has risen to distinction as Secretary of the Navy, and he enters the United States Senate well equipped for the performance of legislative duties. His private life is pure, his integrity unquestionable. In politics he is an efficient and skilful worker, devoted to his party, and an earnest advocate of its principles. To his great credit be it said, he was one of the few radical Republicans who did not permit their party allegiance to blind them to the merits of Andrew Johnson.

Mr. Chandler was succeeded by Edmund Cooper of Tennessee, a personal friend of President Johnson. I had no acquaintance with him before his appointment, but he proved to be an intelligent, industrious, high-toned gentleman, who soon became familiar with the duties assigned to him, and performed them to my satisfaction. I have very pleasant recollection of Mr. Cooper, personally and officially. John F. Hartley was also one of my assistant secretaries. He was a class-mate of mine in the Saco Academy, and at Bowdoin College. After

graduating with high honors (he was always at the head of his classes), he studied law, and gave promise of taking a prominent position in his profession. Before getting fairly at work, however, he went to Washington with the intention of spending a few months there, and seeing something of public life, and forming the acquaintance of public men. While there he was so unwise as to accept a clerkship in the Treasury Department, and there I found him when I became Comptroller of the Currency. Like a great many other talented young men who have applied for and obtained clerkships in the Washington departments for temporary employment, and have become so attached to their places, or disqualified for more active life, as to become fixtures, Mr. Hartley relinquished the profession in which he might have been distinguished, and buried himself in the Treasury Department. He was advanced by Mr. Chase to the chief clerkship, some thirty years after he entered the department, and one of my first official acts as Secretary was to make him one of my assistants, and a very valuable assistant he proved to be. He had a clear, discriminating intellect, which had been improved by his early legal training and subsequent study, so that he had peculiar aptitude for the investigation of the complicated and difficult questions which were constantly arising under the tariff laws. His duties were chiefly in that line, and they were admirably performed. No one in the Department was so familiar with the customs laws, or so competent to interpret them, as Mr. Hartley. He held the office of Assistant Secretary during my term, and under Secretaries Boutwell and Richardson. His resignation was asked for soon after Mr. Bristow became Secretary.

There are few of my official acts that I look upon with more satisfaction than the appointment of David A. Wells to be a Revenue Commissioner. Prior to the civil war, economic questions excited but little practical interest in the United States. The Government was out of debt, and the current expenses were provided for by the tariff and small receipts

from the sales of public lands. The tariff, it is true, had been for nearly forty years a fruitful subject of discussion, but it had been discussed as a party and sectional question, and with comparatively little reference to its bearing upon the diversified interests of the country. So much of a sectional question at one time was it, that it gave birth to the doctrine of nullification, and but for the energy and decision of the President, General Jackson, and the compromise measures of which Henry Clay was the father, it might have jeopardized the integrity of the nation. Soon after the commencement of the civil war it became obvious that the revenues must be largely and promptly increased to meet extraordinary expenses and strengthen the public credit. To accomplish this great changes were made in the tariff, and a far-reaching system of internal revenue was adopted. The emergency was pressing, and there was no time for an investigation by Congress of the effect which heavy and indiscriminate taxation might have upon productive industry. The object aimed at was immediate increase of revenue, and this was most successfully accomplished; but the burdens to which the tax-payers were subjected were heavy; a part of the taxes were found to be injudicious, and when the war was concluded and business was returning to its former and regular channels, a thorough investigation of the existing tax laws for the purpose of accommodating them to well-established economic principles and the changed and changing condition of the country was very clearly demanded. To meet this demand, Congress, by the amendatory act of March 3, 1865, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to "appoint a Commission, consisting of three persons, to inquire and report at the earliest practicable moment upon the subject of raising by taxation such revenue as may be necessary in order to supply the wants of the Government, having regard to and including the sources from which such revenue should be drawn, and the best and most efficient mode of raising the same."

In accordance with this act, David A. Wells, Stephen Colwell and S. S. Hayes were appointed Commissioners. Mr. Hayes I knew personally. Mr. Colwell was appointed on the recommendation of Pennsylvania Congressmen, and Mr. Wells, from my own knowledge of him, and on the advice of my predecessor, Mr. Fessenden. Mr. Hayes was regarded as representing the agricultural interests of the West; Mr. Colwell, the manufacturing interests of the Eastern States; and Mr. Wells, commerce in its various branches. The Commission was thus constituted that it might fairly represent different, and to some extent conflicting, interests. It was organized in June, 1865, and continued in existence until July, 1866, during which time it performed very valuable work, and, by the joint and several reports of its members, gave to Congress a great deal of such information as was needed to give right direction to economic legislation. The following paragraphs in regard to the work of the Commission are from my report of 1865:

"An investigation of the character of the revenue contemplated by the act authorizing this Commission necessarily involves a careful and comprehensive inquiry into the condition of every industry, trade or occupation in the country likely to be affected by the national revenue system, and, in the absence of nearly all previously compared and exact data, must necessarily be protracted and laborious.

"The plan pursued by the Commission has been to take up, specifically, these sources of revenue which our own experience, and the experience of other countries have indicated as likely to be most productive under taxation, and most capable of sustaining its burdens. In pursuance of this plan, a large number of witnesses have been examined, and much valuable testimony put upon record.

"As a gratifying feature of their work, the Commission report a most cheerful and prompt co-operation on the part of nearly all the representatives of the industrial interests of the country in the procurement of exact information, and a universal expression of ready acquiescence in any demands upon them which the future necessities of the Government may require, united at the same time with a request that the Gov-

ernment should, on its part, seek to equalize, so far as practicable, and fairly distribute, the apportionment of its requirements."

The duties of the Commissioners were ably performed, and satisfactorily to Congress and to the Secretary; but upon the completion of their reports, their further services were dispensed with, and instead thereof, the Secretary was authorized by "An act to reduce internal taxation," etc., etc., to appoint an officer in his department, who should be styled Special Commissioner of the Revenue, whose office should terminate in four years from the 10th day of June, 1866. In my report of 1866 I referred to the act, and to the appointment of Mr. Wells as Special Commissioner:

"It was the duty of the Special Commissioner of the Revenue to inquire into all the sources of national revenue, and the best method of collecting the revenue; the relation of foreign trade to domestic industry; the mutual adjustment of the systems of taxation by customs and excise, with the view of insuring the requisite revenue with the least disturbance or inconvenience to the progress of industry and the development of the resources of the country; and to inquire from time to time, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, into the manner in which officers charged with the administration and collection of the revenues perform their duties.

"On the 16th of July last Mr. David A. Wells was appointed Special Commissioner of the Revenue, under the authority above stated, and he was instructed to proceed at once to perform the contemplated work, giving his chief attention to the tariff, with the view of ascertaining what modifications are required to adjust it to the system of internal taxes, stimulate industry, and make labor more productive.

"The ability displayed by Mr. Wells in the performance of his duties as one of the Commissioners for the revision of the internal revenue laws, and the heartiness with which he is prosecuting his investigations, give the best assurance that he will perform the work in a manner creditable to himself and satisfactory to Congress and the people."

My instructions to him were given in a letter, from which the following are extracts:

"In view of the fact that the revision of the tariff is certain to engage the attention of Congress at its next session, I consider it especially desirable that the Treasury Department should be prepared to furnish as much information pertinent to the subject as can be obtained and collected within the limited time available for the necessary investigations. You are, therefore, hereby requested to give the subject of the revision of the tariff especial attention, and to report a bill which, if approved by Congress, will be a substitute for all acts imposing customs duties, and which will render the administration of this branch of the revenue system more simple, economical and effective.

"In the discharge of this duty, you will consider the necessity of providing for a large, certain, and permanent revenue, recollecting the fact that the existing tariff has proved most effective in this direction. You will, therefore, endeavor first to secure for the Government a revenue commensurate with its necessities; and, secondly, to propose such modifications of the tariff laws now in force as will better adjust and equalize the duties upon foreign imports with the internal taxes upon home productions. If this last result can be obtained without detriment to the revenue by reducing taxation upon raw materials and the machinery of home productions, rather than by increasing the rates upon imports, it would, in my opinion, by decreasing the cost of production and increasing the purchasing power of wages, greatly promote the interests of the whole country."

In my report of December, 1867, I referred again to the work of the Commission in the following language:

"The Special Commissioner of the Revenue, since the adjournment of the Thirty-ninth Congress, has been actively engaged in the wide range of duties assigned to him by law, and, under the direction of the Secretary, has devoted a portion of his time to a personal study and examination of the revenue systems and industrial condition of Great Britain and the leading countries of Europe. The result of his investigations will be transmitted to Congress at an early day. In his report the Commissioner will discuss the subject of Government expenditures as bearing upon the question of the abatement of taxes; the present industrial condition and recent progress of the country, the price of labor and raw materials at home and abroad, the revision of the internal revenue system both as respects administration and specific taxation, and the

relations of the present tariff to revenue and domestic industry."

To those who have read his reports, it is not necessary for me to say that these subjects were discussed with great clearness and vigor. All of the reports which were made by Mr. Wells, as Special Commissioner, exhibited the most careful, painstaking and intelligent investigation. In clearness and accuracy of statement, and in logical force, they have not been surpassed on either side of the Atlantic. Their ability was admitted, even by those who disagreed with the writer in his conclusions. To the reputation which Mr. Wells acquired as Special Commissioner of the Revenue he has added very largely by his numerous papers upon economic subjects. It is not too much to say that his rank is among the first of political economists of the time, in Europe as well as in the United States.

CHAPTER XIX.

Condition of the Treasury in April, 1865—Detailed Statement thereof—Absolute Needs of the Government—Offering of the Seven and Three-tenths Notes—Action of the Press—Large Subscriptions by some of the Banks—Apprehended Danger therefrom—Thorough Examination of the Loan Books—Result of that Examination—Officers and Clerks—The Currency Question—Review of the General Policy of the Treasury Department for Four Years.

THE condition of the Treasury in April, 1865, and the sale of the last of the seven and three-tenths notes that were offered to the public, were thus described in my report of 1867:

"In order that the action of the Secretary in the financial administration of the Department may be properly understood, a brief reference to the condition of the Treasury at the time the war was drawing to a close, and at some subsequent periods, seems to be necessary.

"On the 31st day of March, 1865, the total debt of the United States was $2,366,955,077.34, of the following descriptions, to wit:

Funded debt	$1,100,361,241	80
Matured debt	349,420	09
Temporary loan certificates	52,452,328	29
Certificates of indebtedness	171,790,000	00
Interest-bearing notes	526,812,800	00
Suspended or unpaid requisitions	114,256,548	93
United States notes (legal tenders)	433,160,569	00
Fractional currency	24,254,094	07
	$2,423,437,002	18
Cash in the Treasury	56,481,924	84
Total	$2,366,955,077	34

"The resources of the Treasury consisted of the money in the public depositories in different parts of the country, amounting as above stated to $56,481,924.84; the revenues from

internal taxes and customs duties, and the authority to issue bonds, notes and certificates, under the following acts to the following amounts:

Act of February 25, 1862, bonds	$4,023,600 00
Act of March 3, 1864, bonds	27,229,900 00
Act of June 30, 1864, bonds 7-30 or compound-interest notes	79,811,000 00
Certificates for temporary loans, act June 30, 1864	97,546,471 71
U. S. notes for payment of temporary loans, act July 11, 1862	16,839,431 00
Fractional currency, act June 30, 1864	25,745,905 93
Act of March 3, 1865, bonds or interest-bearing notes	533,587,200 00
Making a total of	$784,783,508 64

"Certificates of indebtedness, payable one year from date, or earlier at the option of the Government, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. per annum, might be issued to an indefinite amount, but only to public creditors desirous of receiving them in satisfaction of audited and settled demands against the United States.

"Early in April, the fall of Richmond and the surrender of the forces which had so long defended it, rendered it certain that the war was soon to be terminated, and that provision must be made for the payment of the army at the earliest practicable moment.

"The exigency was great, and the prospect of raising the money required to meet the present and prospective demands upon the Treasury, under the laws then existing, was sufficiently discouraging to create solicitude and anxiety in the mind of a Secretary little experienced in public affairs, upon whom the responsibility of maintaining the credit of the nation had been unexpectedly devolved. There was no time to try experiments or to correct errors, if any had been committed, in the kind of securities which had been put upon the market. Creditors were importunate, the unpaid requisitions on the Department were largely in excess of the cash in the Treasury; the vouchers issued to contractors for the necessary supplies of the army and navy were being sold at from ten to twenty per cent. discount—indicating by their depreciation how uncertain was the prospect of early payment—while nearly a million of men were soon to be discharged from service, who could not

be mustered out until the means to pay the large balances due them were provided. There was no alternative but to raise money by popular subscription to Government securities of a character the most acceptable to the people, who had subscribed so liberally to previous loans.

"As a considerable amount of the seven-thirty notes had recently been disposed of satisfactorily by the Department, and had proved to be the most popular security ever offered to the people, the Secretary determined to rely upon them (although on the part of the Government they were in many respects objectionable), and, in order to insure speedy subscriptions, to place them within the reach of all who might be willing to invest in them. In every city and town and village of the loyal, and at some points in the disloyal States, subscriptions were solicited. The press, with its immense power, and without distinction of party, seconded the efforts of the energetic and skilful agent who had charge of the loan. The national banks gave efficient aid by liberal subscriptions, while thousands of persons in humble life and with limited means hesitated not to commit their substance to the honor and good faith of the Government. Before the end of July the entire loan, exceeding five hundred millions, was subscribed and paid for, and the Secretary was enabled with the proceeds, together with the receipts from customs and internal revenue, and the use to a limited extent of some of the other means at his disposal, to pay every requisition upon the Treasury, and every matured national obligation. As evidence of the necessity for prompt action in the negotiation of this loan, and the straits to which the Treasury was reduced, it will be remembered by those who examined carefully the monthly statements of the Department, that although during the month of April upwards of one hundred millions of dollars had been received from the sales of 7-30 notes, the unpaid requisitions, at its close, had increased to $120,470,000, while the cash (coin and currency) in all public depositories amounted only to $16,835,800. If few men intrusted with the management of the finances of a great nation were ever in a position so embarrassing and trying, as that of the Secretary of the United States Treasury in the months of April and May, 1865, none, certainly, were ever so happily and promptly relieved. The Secretary refers to this period of his administration of the Department with pleasure, because the success of this loan was to him not only a surprise and relief, but because it indicated the resources of the country, and gave him the needed courage for the performance of the great work that was before him."

When these seven and three-tenths notes were offered, the market was already amply supplied with Government securities, but the machinery for placing them before the public was under the direction of Mr. Jay Cooke, the agent of the Government in the disposition of many of the previous loans, and the success was such as I have described. It was understood to be the last of a long line of loans necessitated by the civil war, and there was therefore unusual activity among subscribers. The last day's subscription exceeded ten millions of dollars. I was, of course, gratified by the result; but this gratification was immediately followed by anxiety. The national banks were largely instrumental in the sale of these notes, and some of them were liberal subscribers on their own account. The next day after I had been advised that the entire loan had been disposed of, I requested General Spinner, the Treasurer, to bring to me a statement of the bank balances. As I looked over the list, cold sweat started from my forehead. "You are sweating, Mr. Secretary," said the Treasurer. "Yes," I replied, "and this list would make me sweat if the mercury, instead of being in the nineties, were at zero." I perceived that very large balances were due from banks of small capitals. One bank in a Western city, with a capital of two hundred thousand dollars, was indebted to the Government for over two millions. The loan had gone with a rush. I knew that the market had been, at least temporarily, oversold, and I foresaw that until the notes were better distributed, they would fall below par, and might decline to such an extent as to cripple some of the banks that were large holders, unless they sold speedily. I therefore said to the Treasurer: "Draw down the large bank balances as rapidly as you can without causing serious trouble. Send drafts to the Assistant Treasurer [where the bank especially referred to was located] and instruct him to use them discreetly in reducing the amount which it owes to the Government." This was done, and it was done none too early, if not for the protection of the Government,

at least for the benefit of the bank, which by being heavily drawn upon, was compelled to sell a large part of its holdings before the decline. Within a month the notes were selling at two or three per cent. discount; but in the mean time the balances in that bank, and in other banks, had been so reduced that I slept soundly again.

For nearly three years after I became Secretary I had enough to do (besides the routine business of the great Department, to some items of which I have referred) in funding the immense amount of temporary obligations of the Government. As soon as this great, and in some respects difficult, work, was completed, or in a fair way of speedy accomplishment, the question, Has a dollar been received for each dollar of debt that has been created since the commencement of the war? forced itself upon my attention. I confess that this question troubled me. I had no reason to think that there had been any over-issues, or that the Government had been defrauded in any way. Everything upon the surface appeared to be straight, but a debt of nearly three thousand millions of dollars had been created in four years. The obligations representing this enormous debt had been of various kinds, and in their preparation and issue had passed through many inexperienced hands. Might not serious mistakes have been made—might there not be outstanding obligations that did not appear upon the books? This question I determined to have settled, if it should be possible, before my term of office expired. I therefore appointed a committee, consisting of some half dozen of the hardest workers and best accountants in the Department, to take up each loan in the order of issue; to examine carefully the rules under which the obligations had been printed—the checks which had been adopted to prevent collusion among those whose hands they passed in being prepared for use—the records of issue and redemption; in a word, to do everything that could be done to ascertain whether the public statements of the public debt were, or were not, correct.

Some months were required for this investigation, which, as far as I could judge, was thorough and complete. I need not say that my mind was relieved when the committee reported to me that no material errors of any kind had been discovered; that the records of the different loans had been carefully kept, that all the bonds and notes which had been issued appeared to have been paid for—that there had been no over-issues, and that the debt in kind and amount, was what it appeared to be on the books and in the monthly statements. That no losses were sustained by the Government through want of care, incompetency, or dishonesty on the part of its employees or agents, considering the amount and variety of its obligations, is a very interesting fact in the history of our civil war. The United States is the only nation that publishes a monthly statement of its debt; it is among the few that have dealt honestly with their creditors; in the steady reduction of its debt it stands alone.

I have said more than I intended to say about the Treasury Department, and my connection with it; but I cannot forbear to testify to the industry, zeal and ability of the heads of the bureaus and the leading clerks. Willing and hard-working men were they all—true to the Government in the great struggle in which it was engaged, they seemed always to be emulous to display in their respective stations the devotion to the honor and welfare of the country which was displayed by so many of their countrymen in the field. Many of them were men of great ability—ability that might have distinguished them in more conspicuous walks of life. An opinion is prevalent that no high order of capacity is required in what are called the subordinate officers of the executive departments. This opinion is altogether erroneous. The work to be performed in these departments, especially in the Treasury, is of the highest importance to the country, and such as can be well performed only by men of decided ability. For instance, the duties of the comptrollers and auditors of

the Treasury Department, by whom all official accounts are examined and settled, require in their performance legal and business knowledge of a very high order, and integrity that is proof against temptation. I do not exaggerate when I say, that millions of dollars were saved by the Government during the war and immediately after its close, which would have been lost if the auditors and comptrollers had not been able and incorruptible men. It is of supreme importance that the comptrollers, especially, should be men of this character, as it is their duty to revise the work of the auditors, and their decisions can only be overruled by the courts. Such were Mr. R. W. Taylor and Mr. I. M. Brodhead, who held these offices for many years, and whose services were of inestimable value to the country. The clerks, also, in their different stations, were faithful and industrious in the performance of their duties. No one was appointed or dismissed at my instance on party or personal grounds. It was my aim, as I have said, to administer the department on strictly business principles, and in my efforts in that direction I had the hearty co-operation of my subordinates. I am quite sure that very few private institutions were so faithfully served.

I have before expressed to some extent my views in regard to the national debt and the currency question. The following extract from my report of 1866 indicates, perhaps, more clearly than anything that I have said, my opinion in regard to an irredeemable, and consequently depreciated, currency:

"There being but one universally recognized measure of value, and that being a value in itself, costing what it represents in the labor which is required to obtain it, the nation that adopts, either from choice or temporary necessity, an inferior standard, violates the financial law of the world and inevitably suffers from its violation. An irredeemable, and consequently depreciated, currency, drives out of circulation the currency superior to itself; and if made by law a legal tender, while its real value is not thereby enhanced, it becomes a false and demoralizing standard, under the influences of which prices

advance in a ratio disproportioned even to its actual depreciation. Very different from this is that gradual, healthy, and general advance of prices which is the effect of the increase of the precious metals. The coin which is obtained in the gold and silver producing districts, although it first affects prices within such districts, following the course of trade, and in obedience to its laws, soon finds its way to other countries, and becomes a part of the common stock of the nations, which, increasing in amount by the regular product of the mines, and in activity by the growing demands of commerce, advances the price of labor and commodities throughout the commercial world. Thus the products of the American, Australian, and Russian mines tend first to advance prices in their respective localities, but the operation of trade soon distributes these products, and enterprise everywhere feels and responds to the increase of the universal measure of value. All this is healthful, because slow, permanent and universal. The coin produced in any country will be retained there no longer than its productions and sales keep the balance of trade in its favor. As soon as it becomes cheaper (if this word can be properly used in regard to the standard of value) in the country in which it is produced than in other accessible countries, or rather when it will purchase more in other countries (adding interest, the cost or transportation, duties, and other necessary expenses) than in that in which it is produced, or when it is required to pay balances to other countries, it flows to them by a law as regular and as certain as gravitation. Hence, although the precious metals are produced in considerable quantities in but a few countries, they affect the prices in all. Not so with a paper currency, which is local in its use and in its influence. Its advantages, when convertible, are admitted; for, if convertible, although it swells the volume of currency, it rather increases enterprise than prices. Its convertibility prevents expansion, while its larger volume gives impetus to trade, and creates greater demand for labor. But when a paper currency is an inconvertible currency, and especially when, being so, it is made by the sovereign power a legal tender, it becomes prolific of mischief. Then specie becomes demonetized, and trade is uncertain in its results, because the basis is fluctuating; then prices advance as the volume of currency increases, and require as they advance further additions to the circulating medium; then speculation becomes rife, and 'the few are enriched at the expense of the many;' then industry declines, and extravagance is wanton; then, with a diminution of products, and consequently of exports, there is an increase of imports, and

higher tariffs are required on account of the general expansion, to which they, in their turn, give new stimulus and support, while the protection intended to be given by them to home industry is in a great measure rendered inoperative by the expansion."

I was of course abused, as every independent officer of the Government must expect to be. For this I did not care. Personal abuse did not trouble me, but I was sensitive to fair criticism. As the criticism to which I was subjected for what was considered an unnecessary and improper interference, on my part, with the New York market, and to some extent for my general policy in the management of the debt, seemed to me to be, in some instances, the result of misunderstanding, I thought it due to those who had honored me with their confidence to say in my last report, a few words, not in self-defence, but in explanation, which I did (after describing the condition of the Treasury on the 1st of April, 1865), as follows:

"The fall of Richmond, and the surrender of the Army of Virginia under General Lee (which virtually closed the war), had not the effect of relieving the Treasury. On the contrary, its embarrassments were increased thereby, inasmuch as it seemed to leave the Government without excuse for not paying its debts, at the same time that popular appeals for subscriptions to the public loans were divested of much of their strength. As long as the Government was in danger by the continuation of hostilities, the patriotism of the people could be successfully appealed to for the purpose of raising money and sustaining the public credit, without which the war could not be vigorously prosecuted. When hostilities ceased, and the safety and unity of the government were assured, self-interest became again the controlling power. It will be remembered that it was then generally supposed that the country was already fully supplied with securities, and that there was also throughout the Union a prevailing apprehension that financial disaster would speedily follow the termination of the war. The greatness of the emergency gave the Secretary no time to try experiments for borrowing on a new security of long time and lower interest, and removed from his mind all doubts or hesitation in regard to the course to be pursued. It was estimated that at

least $700,000,000 should be raised, in addition to the revenue receipts, for the payment of the requisitions already drawn, and those that must soon follow—preparatory to the disbandment of the great Union army—and of other demands upon the Treasury. The anxious inquiries then were, By what means can this large amount of money be raised? and not, What will be the cost of raising it? How can the soldiers be paid, and the army be disbanded, so that the extraordinary expenses of the War Department may be stopped? and not, What rate of interest shall be paid for the money? These were the inquiries pressed upon the Secretary. He answered them by calling to his aid the well-tried agent who had been employed by his immediate predecessors, and by offering the seven and three-tenths notes—the most popular loan ever offered to the people—in every city and village, and by securing the advocacy of the press, throughout the length and breadth of the land. In less than four months from the time the work of obtaining subscriptions was actively commenced, the Treasury was in a condition to meet every demand upon it.

"But while the Treasury was thus relieved, the character of the debt was by no means satisfactory. On the first day of September it consisted of the following items:

Funded debt	$1,109,568,191 80
Matured debt	1,503,020 09
Temporary loan	107,148,713 16
Certificates of indebtedness	85,093,000 00
Five per cent. legal-tender notes	33,954,230 00
Compound-interest legal-tender notes	217,024,160 00
Seven-thirty notes	830,000,000 00
United States notes, legal tenders	433,160,569 00
Fractional currency	26,344,742 51
Suspended requisitions uncalled for	2,111,000 00
Total	2,845,907,626 56
Deduct cash in treasury	88,218,055 13
Balance	2,757,689,571 43

"From this statement it will be perceived that $1,276,834,123.25 of the public debt consisted of various forms of temporary securities and debts due, $433,160,569 of United States notes—the excess of which over $400,000,000 having been put into circulation in payment of temporary loans—and $26,344,742 of fractional currency. Portions of this temporary debt

were maturing daily, and all of it, including $18,415,000 of the funded debt, was to be provided for within a period of three years. The seven-thirty notes were by law and the terms of the loan convertible at maturity, at the will of the holder, into five-twenty bonds, or payable like the rest of these temporary obligations in lawful money. It was, of course, necessary to make provision for the daily maturing debt, and also for taking up, from time to time, such portions of it as could be advantageously converted into bonds, or paid in currency, before maturity, for the purpose of avoiding the necessity of accumulating large sums of money, and of relieving the Treasury from the danger it would be exposed to if a very considerable portion of the debt were permitted to mature, with no other means of paying it than that afforded by sales of bonds in a market too uncertain to be confidently relied upon in an emergency. In addition to the temporary loan, payment of which could be demanded on so short a notice as to make it virtually a debt payable on demand, the certificates of indebtedness, which were maturing at the rate of from fifteen to twenty millions per month, the five per cent. notes, which matured in January following, and the compound-interest notes, there were $830,000,000 of seven-thirty notes, which would become due as follows, viz.:

August 15, 1867	$300,000,000
June 15, 1868	300,000,000
July 15, 1868	230,000,000

"As the option of conversion was with the holders of these notes, it depended upon the condition of the market whether they would be presented for payment in lawful money, or be exchanged for bonds. No prudent man, intrusted with the care of the nation's interest and credit, would permit two or three hundred millions of debt to mature without making provision for its payment; nor would he, if it could be avoided, accumulate large sums of money in the Treasury which would not be called for, if the price of bonds should be such as to make the conversion of the notes preferable to their payment in lawful money. The policy of the Secretary was, therefore, as he remarked in a former report, determined by the condition of the Treasury and the country, and by the character of the debt. It was simply, first, to put and keep the Treasury in such condition as not only to be prepared to pay all claims upon presentation, but also to be strong enough to prevent the success of any combinations that might be formed

to control its management; and, second, to take up quietly, and in advance of their maturity, by payment or conversion, such portions of the temporary debt as would obviate the necessity of accumulating large currency balances in the Treasury, and at the same time relieve it from the danger of being forced to a further issue of legal-tender notes, or to a sale of bonds at whatever price they might command. In carrying out this policy, it seemed also to be the duty of the Secretary to have due regard to the interests of the people, and to prevent, as far as possible, the work of funding from disturbing legitimate business. As financial trouble has almost invariably followed closely upon the termination of protracted wars, it was generally feared, as has been already remarked, that such trouble would be unavoidable at the close of the great and expensive war in which the United States had been for four years engaged. This, of course, it was important to avoid, as its occurrence might not only render funding difficult, but might prostrate those great interests upon which the Government depended for its revenues. It was, and constantly has been, therefore, the aim of the Secretary so to administer the Treasury, while borrowing money and funding the temporary obligations, as to prevent a commercial crisis, and to keep the business of the country as steady as was possible on the basis of an irredeemable and constantly fluctuating currency. Whether his efforts have contributed to this end or not, he does not undertake to say; but the fact is unquestioned, that a great war has been closed, large loans have been effected, heavy revenues have been collected, and some thirteen hundred millions of dollars of temporary obligations have been paid or funded, and a great debt brought into manageable shape, not only without a financial crisis, but without any disturbance to the ordinary business of the country. To accomplish these things successfully, the Secretary deemed it necessary, as has been before stated, that the Treasury should be kept constantly in a strong condition, with power to prevent the credit of the Government and the great interests of the people from being placed at the mercy of adverse influences. Notwithstanding the magnitude and character of the debt, this power the Treasury has, for the last three years, possessed; and it has been the well-known existence, rather than the exercise of it, which has, in repeated instances, saved the country from panic and disaster. The gold reserve, the maintenance of which has subjected the Secretary to constant and bitter criticism, has given a confidence to the holders of our securities, at home and abroad, by the constant evidence which it exhibited of the

ability of the Government, without depending upon purchases in the market to pay the interest upon the public debt, and a steadiness to trade, by preventing violent fluctuations in the convertible value of the currency, which have been a more than ample compensation to the country for any loss of interest that may have been sustained thereby. If the gold in the Treasury had been sold down to what was absolutely needed for payment of the interest on the public debt, not only would the public credit have been endangered, but the currency, and, consequently, the entire business of the country, would have been constantly subject to the dangerous power of speculative combinations.

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"Complaint has been made that in the administration of the Treasury Department, since the war, there has been too much of interference with the stock and money market. This complaint, when honestly made, has been the result of a want of reflection, or of imperfect knowledge of the financial condition of the Government. The transactions of the Treasury have, from necessity, been connected with the stock and money market of New York. If the debt after the close of the war had been a funded debt, with nothing to be done in relation to it but to pay the accruing interest, or if business had been conducted on a specie basis, and consequently been free from the constant changes to which it has been and must be subject—as long as there is any considerable difference between the legal and commercial standard of value—the Treasury could have been managed with entire independence of the stock exchange or the gold-room. Such, however, was not the fact. More than one-half of the national debt, according to foregoing exhibits, consisted of temporary obligations, which were to be paid in lawful money or converted into bonds, and there was in circulation a large amount of irredeemable promises constantly changing in their convertible value. The Secretary, therefore, could not be indifferent to the condition of the market, nor avoid connection with it, for it was, in fact, with the market he had to deal. He would have been happy had it been otherwise. If bonds had to be sold to provide the means for paying the debts that were payable in lawful money, it was a matter of great importance to the Treasury that the price of bonds should not be depressed by artificial processes. If the seven-thirty notes were to be converted into five-twenty bonds, it was equally important that they should sustain such relations to each other, in regard to prices, that conversions would be effected. If bonds were

at a discount, the notes would be presented for payment in legal tenders; and these could only be obtained by further issues, or the sale of some kind of securities. For three years therefore, the state of the market has been a matter of deep solicitude to the Secretary. If he had been indifferent to it, or failed carefully to study the influences that controlled it, or had hesitated to exercise the power with which Congress had clothed him, for successfully funding the temporary debt by conversions or sales, he would have been false to his trust. The task of converting a thousand millions of temporary obligations into a funded debt, on a market constantly subject to natural and artificial fluctuations, without depressing the price of bonds, and without disturbing the business of the country, however it may be regarded now, when the work has been accomplished, was, while it was being performed, an exceedingly delicate one. It is but simple justice to say that its successful accomplishment is, in a great measure, attributable to the judicious action of the Assistant Treasurer in New York, Mr. Van Dyck.

"Similar complaint has also been made of the manner in which gold and bonds have been disposed of, by what has been styled 'secret sales;' and yet precisely the same course has been pursued in these sales that careful and prudent men pursue on their own account. The sales have been made when currency was needed and prices were satisfactory. It was not considered wise or prudent to advise the dealers precisely when and to what amount sales were to be made (no sane man operating on his own account would have done this), but all sales of gold have been made in the open market, and of bonds by agents or the Assistant Treasurer in New York, in the ordinary way, with a view of obtaining the very best prices, and with the least possible disturbance of business. In the large transactions of the Treasury, agents have been indispensable, but none have been employed when the work could be done equally well by the officers of the department. Whether done by agents or officers, the Secretary has no reason to suppose that it has not been done skilfully and honestly, as well as economically.

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"The Secretary has thus referred to a few points in his administration of the Treasury, for the purpose of explaining some things which may have been imperfectly understood, and not for the purpose of defending his own action. Deeply sensible of the responsibilities resting upon him, but neither appalled nor disheartened by them, he has performed the

duties of his office according to the best of his judgment and the lights that were before him, without deprecating criticism; and plainly and earnestly presented his own views without seeking popular favor. It has been his good fortune to have had for his immediate predecessors two of the ablest men in the country, to whose judicious labors he has been greatly indebted for any success that may have attended his administration of the Treasury. Nor is he under less obligation to his associates, the officers and leading clerks of the department, whose ability and whose devotion to the public service have commanded his respect and admiration."

CHAPTER XX.

The Scientific Club—Dr. F. A. P. Barnard—University of Mississippi—Prosperous until Outbreak of War—Dr. Barnard Leaves Mississippi and Comes to Washington—Professor Henry—His High Character and Large Acquirements—His Unselfishness—Professor Bache, great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin—Dr. Peter Parker—His Eminence as a Surgeon—His Diplomatic Relations to the United States—Simon Newcomb—High Reputation as an Astronomer—Also as a Writer upon Political Economy—J. E. Hilgard—His Varied Services—George C. Schaeffer—A. A. Humphreys, Distinguished as a General and Engineer—Jonathan H. Lane—His Hobby—William B. Taylor—His Valuable Work in the Smithsonian—Titian H. Peale—Benjamin N. Craig—J. M. Gillis—J. N. McComb—O. M. Poe—M. C. Meigs—His Great Services as Quartermaster General—General George H. Thomas, the "Rock of Chicamauga"—General John A. Logan—General P. H. Sheridan—General William T. Sherman—Brief Sketch of his Campaigns.

SOME of the pleasantest acquaintances which I have formed have been purely accidental. When I went to Washington, in 1863, to organize the National Currency Bureau, I obtained board at one of the houses which had been built by General Cass, and which is now a part of the Arlington Hotel, but could not be furnished with a desirable room there. I therefore applied for lodging at a house a short distance from my boarding-house which I understood was occupied by a gentleman and his wife who might be willing to let one of their rooms. The door was opened by a ladylike woman, who, upon being informed of the object of my visit, said that she had a pleasant room which she would be glad to have me take, if it suited me. It was very cheaply and scantily furnished, but as it fronted the south, and was of good size, I was glad to secure it. In the course of our conversation, I learned that she and her husband, Dr. Barnard, with one servant, were the only occupants, and had only recently taken possession of the house.

My impression, therefore, was, that Dr. Barnard was a country doctor who was desirous of providing in part for the payment of the rent of his house by letting one or more of the rooms. A few days after I was thus domiciled, Mrs. Barnard said to me that she would be pleased to introduce me to her husband, and, as I happened to have a leisure half hour, I thanked her for her kindness, and was at once in the presence of Dr. Barnard, a middle-aged man, of graceful manners, with a handsome and highly intellectual face. It did not take me long to discover that instead of being a common country doctor, he was a gentleman of superior culture. Noticing (after we had conversed for some minutes upon ordinary topics) that my eyes were turned towards his table, upon which were some sheets of paper covered with figures, he said that he was engaged when I came in in calculating the explosive power of gunpowder. As there was a good deal of powder in use at the time, I ventured to ask him if he was employed in the War or Navy Department. "No," he replied; "I am a clerk in the Coast Survey." He must have seen that I was surprised at his answer, for he went on to say that if I had a few minutes to spare, he would tell me who he was, and how he happened to be in Washington doing clerical work for the Coast Survey. His story was deeply interesting. I wish I could repeat his graphic description of the political and social condition of Mississippi before the war, and of the change after hostilities had commenced; of how opposed the people were to secession when the matter was first talked about; how the ordinance of secession was adopted by the influence and activity of their political leaders, and how united all classes became, after the war had been commenced. As I cannot do this, I will condense his narrative, and give briefly my recollection of it. He was a native of Massachusetts, but was a graduate of Yale College, Connecticut. Having concluded to make the South his home, he accepted the professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of Alabama, which he held for a

number of years, and until 1856, when he was elected president of the University of Mississippi, at Oxford, which he hoped to be instrumental in making the leading literary institution of the South, and a rival of older institutions of the Northern States. Everything went on prosperously with himself and the college until South Carolina passed an ordinance of withdrawal from the Union. Then the minds of the students were diverted from books, and turned to politics. When Mississippi adopted a similar ordinance, the political excitement increased, and little was talked about but the dissolution of the Union, and the establishment of a Southern Confederacy, of which Mississippi was to be one of the most important members. War, however, was not contemplated as the result of secession, until Fort Sumter had been captured, and President Lincoln had called for troops to enforce obedience to the laws. Then appeals were made to the State pride and the chivalry of the students, and with so much success that the classes were rapidly depleted, and in the course of a few weeks the University of Mississippi was a university with a president and one or two professors, but without students. But this was not all. President Barnard was a Northern man, known to be strongly attached to the Union, and, of course, strongly opposed to secession. His situation, therefore, was a very unpleasant one. All Union men were regarded with suspicion. In many parts of the South they had been treated with indignity; in some places, with violence. He noticed that, day by day, many who had been his friends were turning their backs upon him, and by none was he openly treated with cordiality. But he was attached to Southern people, and his heart was with the university. What he should do under these circumstances became, therefore, a question for anxious thought. While he was thus troubled by uncertainty in regard to what his action ought to be, he was privately waited upon by some of the leading citizens of the town, and informed that the hostility of the people to Northern men had become so bitter that his

safety, and possibly that of his family, depended upon their leaving Mississippi at once. Had he been alone, he might have been disposed to remain at his post, no matter what might be the consequences to himself; but the safety of his wife was a matter superior to all other considerations, and the next day he was, with her, on his way to the North. Their journey was not without adventure and peril, but they reached Washington in safety, and here he had found temporary employment in the Coast Survey. Some months after I was introduced to him, he was recommended for a professorship in Columbia College, New York. He did not obtain the professorship, but not long after he was elected president of the same college, which position he fills with distinguished honor and ability. Justice was more than even-handed in the case of Dr. Barnard. From the presidency of an institution in its infancy, with very limited endowments, and in a sparsely settled State, he was advanced to the presidency of one of the oldest and richest colleges in the country, and at its commercial capital.

My acquaintance with Dr. Barnard was a great advantage to me. It was pleasant and profitable in itself, and it opened the way for my introduction to men of a different, and in many respects, higher stamp than I had known before. He said to me one Saturday that the Scientific Club would meet in the evening at the house of one of its members, and that he would be glad if I would join him in attending it, which I did. There were present ten or twelve gentlemen, some of whom I knew by reputation, but to all of whom I was personally a stranger. I was greatly interested by the manner in which the subject under discussion was handled—so interested that I accepted a second invitation, and before the next meeting I received, to my surprise, a note from the secretary informing me that I had been elected a member of the club. I was surprised, because I understood that the membership was confined to persons of scientific attainments. Happening, a few days after, to meet Professor Henry, to whom I

had been introduced at the club, I said to him that I had no knowledge of the sciences, and that I feared that I had been elected by mistake. "Not so," he replied. "Finance is a subject in which the country is just now deeply interested, and the club wants a member who knows something about it." My admission to this club was of very great service to me, intellectually and socially. The most delightful hours which I spent in Washington were spent at its meetings. It was a club without being a corporation. It had neither a constitution nor by-laws, and no officer but a secretary. It met every Saturday evening (except during the summer) at the house of some one of its members. The subjects discussed were chiefly scientific, and usually such as the public was interested in at the time. The discussions were always able, and when, as was often the case, the views of the members were not in accord, they were warm and keen. No one spoke who had not something to say, and he fared badly who advanced theories he was unable to maintain. The meetings closed with a supper, the appetites for which had been sharpened by mental exercise. The members at the time were, Joseph Henry, A. D. Bache, Peter Parker, Simon Newcomb, J. E. Hilgard, George C. Schaeffer, A. A. Humphreys, Jonathan H. Lane, William B. Taylor, Titian H. Peale, Benjamin N. Craig, J. M. Gillis, J. N. McComb, O. M. Poe, M. C. Meigs, and Dr. F. A. P. Barnard of whom I have spoken. All of them were interesting men—all well known to each other, and some of them to the public by their scientific and literary attainments; there was not one who would not have been distinguished in any literary and scientific club in this country, or in any other; there was not a money-worshipper or time-server among them all.

At the head of these men was Joseph Henry, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, whose life was largely devoted to carrying out the object of its founder—"the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The acquaintance which I formed with Professor Henry at the club ripened into friend-

ship, which continued as long as he lived. When I went to London in 1870, he gave to me the kindest and most complimentary letter that I ever received from any one. During the war, his attention had been turned to financial questions, and it so happened that the opinions which he had formed by thought and study were in harmony with mine—the result of observation and experience. This fact increased the intimacy between us. In looking after the pecuniary interests of the Smithsonian, and in attending the meetings of the Light-House Board, of which he was a member, he often came to the Treasury Department, and while there, he rarely failed to step into my room to bid me good cheer. Of the views which I expressed in my annual reports upon the currency and other questions, he heartily approved. Since my introduction to Professor Henry in 1863, I have met many distinguished men, but none in whom so many grand and admirable qualities were combined. Modest and unassuming, he was a man of varied and extensive learning. Firm in his convictions, he was free from intolerance. While other scientific men became heated in the discussion of opposing theories, he presented his own opinions with a calmness and dignity which commanded respect and disarmed criticism. He was absolutely free from the jealousies which so frequently exist among gifted men. He rejoiced over every contribution to science—every discovery which tended to the well-being of man. Religious by temperament, and seeing nothing in scientific discoveries inconsistent with revelation, he was a conscientious and prayerful Christian. Charitable beyond his means, and neglectful of his own pecuniary interests, he was careful and prudent in the management of the funds of the Smithsonian Institute, which he regarded as a precious legacy to be used for no other purpose than that designed by Smithson. It was against his judgment that the Smithsonian building was erected, as it involved an expenditure of money which ought to be used for the diffusion of knowledge. The character of

Professor Henry is illustrated by what he said about securing for himself the pecuniary benefits of his discoveries in electro-magnetism, as related by Dr. Dickerson in his address at Princeton on the 10th of June, 1883. "At the time of making my original experiments in electro-magnetism in Albany, I was urged by a friend to take out a patent, both for its application to machinery and to the telegraph, but this I declined to do, on the ground that I did not then consider it compatible with the dignity of science to confine the benefits which might be derived from it to the exclusive use of any individual." This was carrying self-abnegation to an extreme; but it exhibited the nobility of the man. His mission was to work for others, not for himself, and to this he was faithful through life. That the telegraph was based mainly upon his successful experiments in electro-magnetism, is now admitted by those who have carefully studied its history. Wheatston and Cooke, in England, and Steinhiel, in Munich, under whose patents the telegraph was brought into use on the other side of the Atlantic, and Morse, the patentee in the United States, were all indebted to Henry for a large part of what they claimed to be their own discoveries. Had he followed the advice of his friends in Albany, he would have held the key of telegraphy in the United States, and controlled the telegraph long enough to have made himself rich. He never expressed regret that he did not avail himself of the protection of the patent laws; no one ever heard from him a word of complaint that other men had reaped, in honor and money, the fruits of his labors, but he would have been more than human if he had not been mortified by their failure to give to him the credit which was his due. Professor Henry was thoroughly American in his loyalty to the Government, and in his admiration of our republican institutions, but in scientific pursuits he was a citizen of the world. It was for man that he labored; and when his last hour was approaching, he only regretted that he had not done more. His name will be honored as long as eminent

attainments, spotless integrity, lofty and unselfish endeavors, are honored by mankind.

So firmly attached did I become to the members of this club, and so highly did I honor them, that I cannot forbear to say a few words about each.

Alexander Dallas Bache was a great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin, a man of immense working power, and of extensive scientific acquirements. He was superior to his great-grandsire in mathematics, and scarcely his inferior in general learning. His name was honored abroad as well as at home for his valuable contributions to science. He rendered the Government great service in the various positions which he held, especially as Superintendent of the Coast Survey. In practical science he had no superior on either side of the Atlantic.

Peter Parker was a graduate of Yale College. After studying medicine and theology, he went to China as a medical missionary. His success in the treatment of diseases, especially diseases of the eye (which were very common among the Chinese), was so extraordinary that his fame extended throughout the empire. The hospital which he established was thronged every day with applicants for treatment. Dr. Parker was in China when diplomatic relations were opened between that country and the United States, and by his knowledge of the Chinese language, and of the habits of the people, and by his sound judgment, he was able to render efficient aid to Caleb Cushing, the first Commissioner of the United States to China, in the preparation of a treaty between the two countries. To John W. Davis, who succeeded Mr. Cushing, his services as an interpreter, and his great popularity with the Chinese officials, were also very valuable, and they were handsomely acknowledged. When there was no United States Commissioner, as was often and for considerable periods the case, he acted as chargé d'affaires. Twice he returned to the United States for the recovery of his health, which had been impaired by the climate, and his manifold and arduous

labors, and when he went back in 1855, it was as Commissioner, which office he held for two years, during which time he carefully revised the treaty which he had assisted Mr. Cushing to make in 1844. Few men can look back upon a long life with greater satisfaction than can Dr. Parker. No foreigner had better opportunities than he for becoming acquainted with the Chinese, their habits, and the character of their government; and no one could have used these opportunities to greater advantage, both to China and to the United States.

No man of his age has a wider reputation as an investigator in both theoretical and practical astronomy than Simon Newcomb, or better merits the high reputation which he has acquired. His relations with the prominent astronomers and other scientific men of Europe are intimate, and he is held by them in very high regard. He has been, and still is, a good deal interested in the subject of political economy, and he has written upon it with so much ability that his readers might suppose that he had made it a life-long study, and was a professor of that science, instead of being a professor of astronomy. He has also written upon many other subjects of popular interest, and has thus made himself liable to the criticism of "scattering his fire." A man who, before he was twenty-five years old, prepared and published astronomical works of a very high order, and before he was forty was elected an associate of the Astronomical Society of England, and a corresponding member of the Institute of France, and received a gold medal for his tables of the most distant planets, ought to be satisfied with nothing short of the very highest place among the astronomers of the world. This place he can only secure by devoting himself more exclusively than he has hitherto done to astronomical pursuits.

J. E. Hilgard has spent a good part of his life in the Coast Survey, in which his services were highly appreciated. During the long illness of Professor Bache, and the frequent absence of his successor, Professor Pierce, Mr. Hilgard had

charge of the bureau; and after the death of Captain Patterson, he was appointed superintendent by President Arthur. Owing to a severe domestic affliction (the death of an only and talented son) and his overwork, the business of the bureau became so deranged as to necessitate his resignation. He lacked the executive ability for which his predecessor, Captain Patterson, was so greatly distinguished, but his uprightness and devotion to his duties were beyond question. In the extent and variety of his acquirements he has few equals. His reputation on the other side of the Atlantic for scientific acquirements is such as any man might be proud of.

George C. Schaeffer was an encyclopædia of knowledge. No subject was ever discussed in the club that he did not appear to be master of. He was then, I think, librarian in the Interior Department. He had been one of the examiners in the Patent Office, and had been transferred to the library because (as his friends supposed) he had become obnoxious to some patent lawyers by his superior knowledge and perfect integrity. He was a prodigy of learning. I held him in the highest respect.

A. A. Humphreys was one of the most distinguished topographical engineers of the country. He was a major-general by brevet, and the chief engineer of the army. A brave and skilful soldier, he earned high honor by his conduct as a division commander in the battle at Gettysburg, and in the Virginia campaigns of 1864 and 1865. Not only was he a gallant soldier and very able engineer, but he was a vigorous and graceful writer. His reports upon the physics and hydraulics of the Mississippi were regarded at the time as being very able and well written. His history of the last Virginia campaign is one of the most valuable contributions to the history of our great civil war.

Jonathan H. Lane was in his personal appearance one of the most unattractive persons that I ever met, but he was a man of large scientific acquirements. His hobby was to cre-

ate by mechanical contrivances or chemical means intense cold —cold which should equal in the opposite direction the heat of the sun. To what use the cold was to be applied, he never undertook to explain; but he worked on with unflagging zeal, trying one invention after another as long as he lived, accomplishing nothing, but never discouraged in his pursuits.

William B. Taylor held, and still holds, high rank among the scientific men of Washington. He was then an examiner in the Patent Office, the duties of which he performed with great ability. He is now employed, and is doing good work, in the Smithsonian. Valuable articles from his pen are sometimes seen, but he avoids notoriety, is rarely seen in society, and seems to be perfectly content with such enjoyments as he finds in doing his duty as the head of one of the divisions in the Smithsonian, and in familiar intercourse with a few personal friends. By those who know him well, he is considered the most learned man in Washington.

Titian H. Peale was a brother of Rembrandt Peale, and was himself an artist of very considerable merit. He was an examiner in the Patent Office. He was a man of varied accomplishments. He had seen a good deal of the world and been a careful observer. He was a good talker and a most agreeable companion. His interest then centred in photography, to the advancement of which he contributed much by his investigations and discoveries.

Benjamin N. Craig was an odd stick, but he was a hard student, and one of the clearest-headed men connected with the club. He was employed in the Medical Museum, where he found work that suited him exactly. He was not a ready speaker, but when he did speak it was with concentration of force that few of his associates could equal, and none could excel.

J. M. Gillis was a naval officer in charge, if I rightly recollect, of the National Observatory. I did not know him well, but his merit was proved by the fact that Pro-

fessor Henry, who knew him thoroughly, held him in very high esteem.

J. N. McComb was also a naval officer, of whom I heard expressions of high regard, but whom I had not the pleasure of meeting.

O. M. Poe, whom I knew very well, was one of the youngest members of the club. He was regarded as a young man of great promise, which promise has been fulfilled. He has become, while still in the prime of life, one of the ablest and most distinguished engineers connected with the army.

M. C. Meigs stands high with those who know him, but his merits have not been, I think, appreciated by the public as they ought to have been. I must therefore speak of his services during the war at considerable length. I had a good deal to do with him while I was Secretary of the Treasury, and he commanded my respect by his ability and his fidelity to the Government. In war, as has been said, it is the soldier upon whom honors are conferred for distinguished services—the battle-field that attracts public attention. Little is thought about the services of those by whose agency the organization of armies is maintained; and yet the success of military movements on a large scale, in modern times, depends mainly upon the efficiency of what is called, in the United States, the Quartermaster's Department. In ancient times, invading armies subsisted upon the countries which they conquered or through which they marched. Everything that was needed and could be reached was seized by them, and desolation marked their progress. There was no recognition of private property. Everything in the enemy's country was enemy's property and legitimate prey. Wars always are, and always will be, barbarous, but progressive civilization has lessened their barbarism. Armies are no longer dependent upon the countries which they occupy for subsistence. Nations that wage aggressive wars must make provision for the support of their armies independently of plunder. The instances in modern wars of

the support of armies by levies or violence are exceptional. While from countries occupied by invading forces, contributions may be exacted, and supplies to some extent obtained, their main dependence must be upon their own commissariat. Deficiency in this would imperil the best campaign plans and the most perfect army organization. In the Franco-German war, the French armies, although fighting upon their own soil, labored under great disadvantages by having a commissariat poorly supplied and badly managed; while the Germans, in a foreign land, were bountifully provided by their own commissariat with everything needed for their health and comfort.

The civil war in the United States could not have been prosecuted by the Government with the smallest hope of success, had not the Union armies been properly provided and cared for by the Quartermaster's Department. Fortunately for the country, there was at the head of this department M. C. Meigs, who merits the respect and gratitude of his countrymen by the services which he rendered in a position requiring qualities of a very high order—vigilance, industry, and integrity, with the ability to comprehend large transactions, and master the smallest details. All of these qualities General Meigs possessed in an eminent degree, and he had ample opportunities for their exercise in furnishing supplies for nearly four years to armies larger in the aggregate than had been employed by any other nation, and scattered over a country of greater extent than had ever been occupied by contending forces. In 1872 I met in London an intelligent and inquisitive American, who had been spending some months in the city for the sole purpose of ascertaining how four millions of people, who produced nothing in the food line, could day by day be furnished with the necessary supplies. He had investigated with diligence and skill, and he had prepared tables which exhibited the varieties and quantities of food brought into the city for daily consumption, and statements of the sources from which they were obtained. "Here," said

he to me, "are four millions of people within the boundaries of a single city, whose existence mainly depends upon what is brought to them each day, and very largely from other countries, and so closely do demand and supply correspond, that there is no excess and no deficiency." He thought this very wonderful, and he seemed to be rather disgusted when I said to him that, wonderful as it was, the manner in which the Federal armies in our civil war were provided for, through the agency of the Quartermaster's Department, was still more wonderful. In this statement I was right, and for obvious reasons. The growth of cities being gradual, there are no emergencies to create extraordinary demand for supplies. Step by step, from villages to towns, and from towns to cities, from small cities to large ones, they have grown; and corresponding with their growth has been the increase in the sources of supply. London is as readily supplied with what is needful for the subsistence of four millions of people as it was when its proportions did not exceed one hundred thousand;—the means of supply have kept even pace with its growth, and are always equal to the demand. Very different is the case with regard to the supply of armies, and especially of suddenly created armies, engaged in aggressive war, and occupying large extents of country. Never were such onerous duties performed by a single department, in any country, as were performed by the Quartermaster's Department in our civil war. In the spring of 1861 the regular army of the United States was 12,000 strong, stationed along the frontier to keep peace among the Indians, and protect the settlers in their new homes. They were in a region in which game was plentiful and all needful supplies, except clothing, were at hand. There was scarcely work enough to be done in the Quartermaster's Department to justify its existence. Suddenly, at the call of the President, seventy-five thousand men were mustered into the military service. The firing upon Sumter was the tocsin of the greatest war which the world has ever witnessed.

Scarcely had this call been answered, when other calls rapidly followed, until before the war was ended more than a million of men were employed by the Government, and subsisted through the Quartermaster's Department.

At the head of this Department, when the war commenced, was General Joseph E. Johnston, who resigned in the spring of 1861 to enter into the Confederate service, and whose example was followed by some of his subordinates. The Department was thus deprived of experienced men, and when General (then Colonel) Meigs was appointed Quartermaster-General, on the 15th of May, 1861, he found merely the skeleton of a bureau, to be reorganized and made equal to the existing and rapidly increasing demands upon it. If the magnitude and duration of the war could have been foreseen months before its commencement, the organization of a department with force and skill enough to do what was to be required of it would have been a matter of no small difficulty; its organization after the war had been commenced, and while heavy calls were to be answered, was a task that could only have been performed by a man of superior executive ability, assisted by subordinates whose lack of experience was their only deficiency. Men learn rapidly under the stimulus of patriotism, and the pressure of necessary action; and this Department, upon the efficiency of which great results depended, was reorganized and enlarged in the midst of the war without confusion, and placed upon a basis that rendered it equal to the enormous work it was called upon to perform. It was the duty of this department to purchase all the horses, mules, and oxen needed for the armies, the camp and garrison equipage, the clothing and accoutrements of the soldiers, the timber for barracks and hospitals; to purchase or rent grounds for camps, to construct or charter steamers and other vessels to be used upon the ocean or rivers; to build or repair railroads which were needed for the transportation of troops or supplies; to furnish everything that was required

for the organization of armies and for their support and comfort.

While it devolved upon the Commissary Department to procure the food for the soldiers, and for the Ordnance Department to manufacture or buy arms, it was the duty of the Quartermaster's Department to transport them, and all war material, to the armies, no matter how far they might be from the points at which they were obtained. Branches of the Quartermaster's Department were with the different armies wherever they might be. They furnished General Grant with supplies in the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. They followed him in the terrific battles of the Wilderness, and were with him at City Point, and at the surrender of General Lee at Appomattox. They were with Rosecrans at Stone River and at Corinth. They were with Sherman as he fought his way through Tennessee to Atlanta. If they did not follow him in his march to the sea, they furnished him with a liberal outfit at the start, and they met him again at Goldsborough, after the skill and endurance of his army had been proved in the march through the swamps and the morasses of the Carolinas. They were with McClellan in his battles in the Peninsula and at Antietam; with Meade at Gettysburg, with Sheridan on the Shenandoah, with Thomas in the battle of Nashville. Wherever there were forces to be supplied or transported, there were agents of the Quartermaster's Department. In the first year of the war it constructed seven iron-clad gunboats, and nine steam rams, and operated them upon the Mississippi River and its tributaries. After the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson they were turned over to the Navy Department. In the latter part of the war, the transportation fleet of this department consisted of over a thousand vessels of all kinds. Within fifteen months from the commencement of active hostilities, the department purchased and delivered to the army 247,678 horses and mules, and over 22,500 wagons and ambulances; and as the

army was increased in numbers, purchases were correspondingly increased. The outlays in 1864 were larger than in any previous year. Between the 1st of January, 1864, and the 1st of May, 1865, 214,000 horses were purchased, and in seven months 59,000 mules. The forage supplied during the war was:

22,816,271	bushels of corn, at a cost of	$29,879,300
78,663,799	bushels of oats, at a cost of	76,362,026
1,518,621	tons of hay, at a cost of	48,595,892
21,276	tons of straw, at a cost of	425,520

There was also purchased and delivered:

551,456	cords of wood, at a cost of	$2,756,180
1,620,910	tons of coal, at a cost of	13,777,735

When the war was ended, the Department carried to their homes nearly a million of men, and had subject to its disposal, 104,474 horses and 102,954 mules, and upwards of 420,000 tons of military stores, which were judiciously disposed of. It expended $45,367,000 upon military railways. Its total expenditures were upwards of $1,500,000,000, every dollar of which was faithfully accounted for. I mention these items to show the magnitude of the work performed by the Quartermaster's Department. Its operations are of record, and will be of immense service to the future historian of the great civil war, which was waged with vigor and characterized by bravery and devotion on both sides which have never been equalled.

It was at the Club that I became acquainted with General George H. Thomas. He was not a member, but he accepted invitations to its meetings, in which he seemed to be much interested. He frequently participated in the discussions, and always spoke with intelligence and to the point. I saw a good deal of him, in the Club and out of it, and the better I knew him, the more highly I esteemed him. My acquaintance with him became close, and he spoke to me, I think, with as much freedom, as he spoke to any one, about his military ser-

vices, and the criticisms to which he was subjected just before the battle of Nashville. In the last conversation I ever had with him, he referred to the annoying telegrams which he received from General Halleck at Washington, and from General Grant at City Point. "I was on the ground," he said, "and hard at work in getting together and into fighting shape the scattered and undisciplined forces under my command, after General Sherman had commenced his march to the sea, in order that I might strike an effective blow against the superior forces of General Hood. I knew, or thought I knew, when the blow should be struck, and it was struck just as soon as it could be with reasonable prospects of success. Defeat at that time, and at that place, would have been a greater calamity than any which could have befallen the Federal forces. It would have cleared the way for the triumphant march of Hood's army through Kentucky, and a successful invasion of Indiana and Illinois, in which there were no Federal troops. It was, therefore, of the last importance that the battle upon which so much depended should not be fought until I was ready for it. To one of General Grant's dispatches, urging me to fight, I was strongly tempted (grossly improper as it would have been) to ask why he was not fighting himself."

Fortunate was it for the country that General Thomas was not relieved by General Logan, who it was understood, was on his way to take the command, while the great and decisive battle was being fought. General Logan was a brave man, and for his opportunities he was a skilful officer; but neither he, nor any other general, could have taken Thomas's place without imminent danger to the Union army. No other general, except perhaps McClellan, commanded the confidence of his soldiers to the same extent as did General Thomas. Had he been deprived of his command at that critical time, so great would have been the disaffection of the troops, that in all probability Hood would have achieved a victory, instead

of meeting a crushing defeat. The battle of Nashville was one of the most important battles of the war, in itself and in the effect which it produced in the disloyal as well as the loyal States. It was the only great battle in which the Confederates were thoroughly vanquished. For this signal victory, General Thomas was properly honored, but the opinion then prevailed and still prevails, that he was, as General Grant expressed it, the right man to repel, but not to initiate—that he was slow. For this opinion there is no other foundation than that he did not give battle to Hood before he did. In his long and honorable military career, there is nothing to show that he was not as prompt in acting as he was sound in judging. In no single instance was he liable to the charge of excessive prudence. His military career began in the war with the Seminole Indians in Florida; for his services in which, as second lieutenant, he was complimented by his superior officers. For his good conduct at Monterey, in the Mexican war, he was breveted captain; for his distinguished gallantry at Buena Vista, major.

General Thomas was a Virginian, and strongly attached to his native State; but he never faltered in his allegiance to the Government. By his fidelity to the Union, he was estranged from his relatives and Virginia friends, who never forgave him for what they called his treason to his State. Under the first call of President Lincoln for volunteers, upon the bombardment of Fort Sumter, he was assigned to the command of a brigade under General Patterson, and when Patterson was mustered out at the expiration of his ninety days' service, he was appointed Brigadier-General of Volunteers, and ordered to Louisville. In the organization of the Army of the Cumberland, under General Buell, he was assigned to the command of the First Division. His duties in this command were laborious and trying, as he had an active enemy to watch, while he was preparing his undisciplined troops for efficient service. On the 18th of January, 1862, he

had a sharp engagement at Mill Springs, with the Confederates under General George B. Crittenden and General Zollicoffer, whom he routed with considerable loss to the Confederates in men, and great loss in munitions of all kinds. In this battle General Zollicoffer was killed, and although, in comparison with those which followed, it was a small affair, it was important in raising the spirit of the Federal troops, in giving them confidence in their commander and in themselves, and in encouraging the people of the North. It was a well-contested battle on both sides. It was one of the first battles in the West—the first in which the Union troops won a victory. It was also important in the effect it had upon the people of Kentucky. It raised the reputation of the Northern soldiers, and did much to check the progress of secession sentiment in that State. In the West, the effect of this battle was electrical. It was the baptism of fire to a number of Western regiments; and the report of the victory was received with a delight scarcely equalled by the reports of subsequent victories on a larger scale.

The bravery and admirable judgment of General Thomas were soon again displayed in the battle of Stone River, under General Rosecrans, one of the hardest-fought and bloodiest of the early battles of the war; but it was at Chicamauga that he won his greatest popular renown. It was there that his indomitable courage was most effectively displayed. Undismayed by the reports which reached him of the disasters of the rest of the Union forces, he held his own well in hand, and, gathering them together on Horseshoe Ridge, a position selected by himself, he resisted with twenty-five thousand men the repeated attacks of twice that number of Confederate troops, frequently reinforced, and flushed with their successes in other parts of the field. Never was there a grander display of tenacious heroism than was displayed by General Thomas, when for six hours, delivering harder blows than he received, he held his position against the furious assaults of almost over-

whelming numbers. It was then that he won the name so expressive of his merit—"The Rock of Chickamauga." To him was the country indebted for the salvation of the Army of the Cumberland.

The gallantry and military capacity of General Thomas were displayed in every one of the many battles in which he was engaged; and never was he charged with being slow until he hesitated to strike at Hood before he was prepared to make the battle of Nashville one of the most decisive battles of the war; but the complaint came from City Point, and hence the credence of its justice. In the history of the great civil war yet to be written by an impartial pen, no name will be more conspicuous, not for courage only, but for all the qualities required in a great commander, than that of George H. Thomas. Nor was it as a soldier only that he was renowned. He was no less distinguished by his modesty, his unselfishness, and his keen sense of justice. He was never his own trumpeter, nor with his approbation was any one the trumpeter of his fame. Newspaper correspondents were never welcome in his camps. His supreme ambition was to do his duty, and he was content that his reputation should rest upon his acts. He declined honors when by accepting them he would have sanctioned injustice to others. The following illustrates his magnanimity in this regard. After the battle of Mill Springs he was assigned to the command of the Army of the Ohio in place of General Buell. He declined the promotion, on the ground that, in his judgment, Buell merited the approbation rather than the censure of the Government. Having heard that his name had been sent to the Senate by President Johnson for a position that would, if the nomination were confirmed by the Senate, make him superior to General Grant, he promptly requested some of his personal friends in the Senate to vote against his confirmation. He had, he said, received all the honor he was justly entitled to. In the same spirit he refused presents—such presents as the commander-in-chief was in the

habit of receiving. Nor did he complain of the intended injustice to him just before the battle of Nashville. He felt, however—and this feeling he expressed to intimate friends—that neither Secretary Stanton nor General Grant was his friend. Many regarded his transfer to the command of the Military Division of the Pacific an indication of unfriendly feeling or jealousy on the part of the President.

I have said much more than I intended to say about General Thomas. I should have said less if I had felt that his high character and great success had been fully appreciated. But having said so much about him, I cannot help giving the impressions made upon me by a few of the other distinguished generals and commanders with whom I became personally acquainted during the war, or soon after its close. My acquaintances in this direction were limited. While the war was in progress, and for nearly four years after its termination, my time was required to such an extent in the general management of the Bank of the State of Indiana, and in the performance of financial duties in Washington, that I had little opportunity for becoming personally acquainted with many of the men by whose gallantry in the field and on the water the national unity was preserved.

Although he was a Western man, it was after the war that I met General John A. Logan, the most distinguished of the volunteer generals who added to the prestige fairly acquired in the field, the honor of serving with distinction the great State of Illinois in the United States Senate. Before the war he had obtained considerable celebrity as a young, popular orator. He was a Democrat, and living in southern Illinois, his personal and political affiliations were largely with Southern men. He was a non-coercionist, but he was nevertheless for the Union, and heartily opposed to all combination, all measures which seemed to him to endanger it. Although he had no sympathy with the anti-slavery men in the free States, he had none with secessionists at the South. When, therefore, the Southern

States attempted to withdraw from the Union and to establish an independent government by force, he had no doubt as to what duty required of him. He was for the Union, and his fidelity was not in the slightest measure weakened by the fact that among those who were most active in efforts to destroy it were many to whom he had been strongly attached. So ambitious was he, and so apt in learning the art of war, that he commanded the respect of the officers of the regular army, and so untiring in his devotion to the Government that he richly merited the high distinction which he acquired. General Logan belonged to that class of men whose rise from obscurity to eminence is not only creditable to themselves, but a compliment to our democratic institutions. If after the war he was unable to overcome the feeling engendered by it—to be just to those who were forced into the war against the Government by their adherence to the doctrine of State Sovereignty, in which he had himself been a believer; if he could not help regarding the attempted secession of the Southern States as treasonable, and treasonable only, it was because there are no animosities so lasting and bitter as those which follow ruptured friendship. The advocates of the harshest treatment of the people of the Southern States after the war were those who, like Secretary Stanton, General B. F. Butler, and General Logan, were in the closest sympathy with them before its commencement. General Logan was among the very few of the distinguished Union soldiers who were, or are, disposed to keep alive sectional animosity rather than to use their influence to restore amicable relations between the North and South, which but for slavery would never have been interrupted.

The evening of the day on which reports of General P. H. Sheridan's splendid victory in the Valley of Virginia at Cedar Creek were received in Washington, I spent with the President at the Soldiers' Home. It was such a relief to have cheering news from that quarter, that Mr. Lincoln threw off his cares and gave free rein to his humor. He had not been so happy, he

said, since the capture of Vicksburg. I certainly never saw him during the war when he was so joyous. My desire to meet Sheridan was not gratified until I met him, some years after, in London, where we spent some pleasant hours together. Since then I have known him quite well, and he has grown steadily in my estimation and respect. To many of his countrymen, General Sheridan has been known only as one of the bravest of the brave—the dashing cavalry commander, whose gallantry had been displayed on many battle-fields, always foremost in the fight and seemingly courting danger for the love of it. Such he had seemed to me until he was assigned to the command of the Army of the Shenandoah, in August, 1864. It was there that he found opportunity to display his qualities as a commander. It was the first command of an army that he had been intrusted with, and he had opposed to him one of the most skilful generals of the Confederacy. That the right man had at last been assigned to the command of the Union forces in that fertile valley, from which General Lee was obtaining a large part of his supplies in the defence of Richmond—was speedily proven by his great but dearly-bought victory at Opequan Creek. It was the first battle in which he had led an army, and in his elation he indited his dispatch, "We have sent the enemy whirling through Winchester. We are after them to-morrow." The battle at Fisher's Hill, which soon followed, in which the Confederate fortifications, well built, and on a commanding position, were skilfully flanked and carried by storm, was scarcely less important than that at Opequan in the effect which it had upon both sections of the country. It was, however, in the battle of Cedar Creek that General Sheridan obtained his greatest renown. In this battle the Confederates commenced the attack, and followed it up with so much vigor that the Union forces were driven from their encampments, and twenty-four of their guns were captured. A great victory seemed to be within the grasp of General Early, up to eleven o'clock, when the tide was

suddenly turned. General Sheridan was on his return from Washington, and had reached Winchester on the morning of the 19th of October, when an officer reported to him sounds of artillery. This report made so little impression upon him that he did not leave the town for a couple of hours, but he had not proceeded far, before it became evident that a great battle was being fought, and to the disadvantage of his army. As soon as his horse could carry him, he was among his retreating troops. To stop this retreat, to re-form the broken lines, to compel the fugitives to face the enemy and to win a great victory, was possible only to a general of great ability, who could inspire his troops with his own gallant spirit. When Sheridan reached the field, at about eleven o'clock, the largest part of the Union Army was in retreat, some of it in utter confusion. In a few hours the lost ground was recovered, and before night the Confederates, beaten at all points, were flying for their lives. The annals of war reveal nothing grander than the conduct of Sheridan in this, the last great battle in the Shenandoah. Like General Thomas, he was the idol of the men whom he commanded. Since the war he has displayed executive ability and sound judgment in the performance of various important duties, and there are none to deny that he fills with great credit the highest place in the army.

No other general in the army of the civil war is known by as many people as William Tecumseh Sherman, and none has warmer friends. Of great versatility of character, he has been soldier, teacher, banker, and again soldier. He has travelled much, and been a close and accurate observer. His perception is rapid, and his comprehension of the topography of a country through which he merely travels is so extraordinary, that he understands its general features better than they are understood by its residents. This faculty gave him great advantages in his Tennessee and Georgia campaign, and in his march from Savannah to Raleigh. He had been over a considerable part of these sections once before, not as a student of its

topography, but as a young lieutenant in the Seminole war, and yet he knew more about them than the Southern generals seemed to know. Sherman is a man of the world. He has the faculty of adaptation, which makes him everywhere at home—upon the frontier, and at the Capital; among the rudest, and the most polished; in cabins, where corn dodgers and pork or opossum are the only fare, and in the mansions of the rich, where there is everything to tempt and gratify the appetite; in high life or low life, he is equally at ease. Grim and stern in his appearance, he is one of the most genial of men. He is a good talker, and especially interesting in conversation, because without being egotistical, he can be led to speak, not about what he has heard or read, but about what he has himself experienced and observed in a varied life. He is also a ready public speaker and facile writer, but he frequently speaks without preparation, and rarely reviews with care what he writes, so that he sometimes either says what he did not intend to say, or his language is so misconstrued as to expose him to criticism; but he never makes a speech that does not command attention, or writes an article which is without value. He was well received in Europe, a good deal of which he saw during his visit in 1871. Especially was he well received in London, where he was regarded as standing at the head of the national generals in the civil war, the progress of which had been watched with the keenest interest by the British people.

So little comprehension was there throughout the Northern States, in the autumn of 1861, of the magnitude of the struggle in which the Government was engaged for the maintenance of its authority in the South, that Sherman's report that seventy-five thousand men would be required for the prosecution of the war in the Department of the Cumberland, to the command of which he had been appointed, was received with surprise, if not with derision, by the War Department, and with astonishment everywhere at the North.

Seventy-five thousand men for a single Department! could anything be more preposterous! If seventy-five thousand men were needed for a single Department, and that not one of the most important, how many would be required for all the Departments? And if the men could be found for such armies as would be required, according to Sherman's estimate, how could the money be raised to cover the expense? No sane man could entertain so wild an opinion! Sherman must be crazy, was the talk in Washington. Sherman *is* crazy, responded the newspapers; one of the most enterprising of which made the startling discovery that insanity was hereditary in the Sherman family. Whether the prevalence of this sentiment was the cause of his being relieved of his command, and placed in charge of a camp of instruction, does not appear; but that it was the fear at the War Office that he was not perfectly sane which kept him in the background for months, is more than probable. Well was it for the country that the magnitude of the war was not foreseen at the beginning. If it had been, the Union might have been severed without a blow being struck for its preservation. A war of four years' duration, requiring the services of more than a million of men—the expenditure of four thousand millions of dollars—annual taxes of four hundred millions, and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of precious lives;—who would not have stood aghast at such a picture? Sherman himself had no forecast of a war of so gigantic proportions. But he had lived at the South; he understood the character of the people; he knew that they had not been, as many supposed, enervated by the existence among them of a servile class, upon whom they mainly depended for labor; he comprehended the topography of the country to be invaded, and the advantages which it possessed in defensive warfare. He was consequently quite sure that the conflict would be severe and protracted, and that it might require all the energy and resources at the command of the Government to bring it to a successful termination.

Sherman was the sane man, the insane were his critics; and this the War Office and the people were not long in discovering. A few months after he took charge of the school of instruction, his presence in the army was considered necessary, and he was placed in command of the District of Paducah in Kentucky. From that time to the end of the war he was, next to General Grant, the most conspicuous of the national generals; more constantly employed, and more frequently in battle than any other. Before he was assigned to the command of the Department of the Cumberland, he had been made for his gallantry at the first battle of Bull Run, a Brigadier-General, and after the battle of Shiloh he was made a Major-General of volunteers. On the 4th of July, 1863, he was promoted to be Brigadier-General, and in August, 1864, Major-General in the regular army. All of these advances in rank, step by step, were recognitions of his merit, and his merit only. In nearly all the great battles in Tennessee and Mississippi he bore an important part, but opportunity for the full exercise of great ability was not afforded until he was placed in full command of the section which included the Departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, Tennessee and Arkansas. Then at the head of the finest national army that had been under one command in the West, he was confronted at every point by a Confederate force second only in strength and discipline to the Army of Northern Virginia, and under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston, who, next to Lee, was the ablest of the Confederate Generals. From May to September there was incessant manœuvring and fighting between the two armies, and great valor and generalship were displayed on both sides. Sherman's aim was to flank Johnston, and avoid direct attack upon his fortifications. Johnston's effort was so to extend and fortify his lines that he could not be flanked nor attacked in front without great risk to the assailants. The local advantages were on the side of Johnston. He was on the defensive, with ample supplies at hand. Sherman was

encountering almost insuperable difficulties in keeping open his lines of communication through a hostile country to his far-distant base, and yet the Confederates were forced from one position to another, with no small losses of men and munitions. In one instance only were they able to make good their stand. In this instance (the battle of Kenesaw) Sherman changed his tactics. He made a direct attack upon the lines of the enemy, and was repulsed with considerable loss. This repulse, however, did not seriously check his onward movement. In a few days, by skilful manœuvres, he forced the enemy to abandon his strong position and to fall back upon another. The battle at Kenesaw was the last of his encounters with Johnston in the West. Before there was any more severe fighting, Johnston was superseded by General Hood. The change was gratifying to Sherman and his well-drilled army. Johnston was brave, skilful, prudent, wary. If driven from one position, he had another to occupy; so that he was always confronting Sherman with fortifications too strong to be carried by assault, and too extended to be flanked without considerable loss of time, nor without increasing Sherman's difficulties in obtaining supplies. Hood, on the other hand, was aggressive—more disposed to strike than to await an attack. The government at Richmond had become alarmed at the steady progress of Sherman, and dissatisfied with the Fabian policy of Johnston. Hence the change of commanders. That the change was unfortunate for the Confederates, was soon apparent. Hood was a daring soldier, who had obtained renown on many well-contested battle-fields; but if he had been as wise as he was brave, he would have known that his army was not strong enough for aggressive movements against such an army as Sherman's. In the battles at Atlanta and Gainesborough, he exhibited skilful generalship, and his usual personal courage, but he was beaten in battle and foiled in his efforts to compel Sherman to abandon Georgia. He could not save Atlanta, but although beaten, he was not vanquished; and

when Sherman was on his grand march to the sea, he was making a counter movement with an increased force towards the north. His military career was ended by the crushing blow which he received at Nashville.

The greatest single loss sustained by the Government at the battle of Atlanta was in the death of General McPherson, a gallant soldier and an accomplished gentleman, to whom, as much as to any one, the country was indebted for the salvation of the national army in the first day's battle at Shiloh. The campaign which Sherman commenced in May, 1864, at Dalton, and substantially closed in September, at Atlanta, was one of the most brilliant and successful campaigns of the war. He was in a country admirably adapted to defensive operations. He had opposed to him an army nearly equal to his own in numerical strength, and fully equal in spirit and endurance, commanded first by Johnston, one of the most skilful, and next by Hood, one of the most daring of the Confederate generals. He was dependent entirely upon his base for supplies, with a long line of communication to be maintained. Every inch of advance had to be fought for, and almost every day was marked by fighting or manœuvring; and yet the movement was onward, interrupted only by the repulse at Kenesaw, until the object of the campaign was accomplished in the capture of Atlanta, which, next to Richmond, was the most important position for the Confederates to hold.

In the conduct of this campaign, Sherman exhibited military genius of the highest order, supplemented by courage, hardihood, endurance; but the crowning glory was yet to be attained. He was hundreds of miles away from his base of supply; and he had an active enemy in his neighborhood, not strong enough to meet him in battle, but sufficiently strong to make his position uncomfortable. What should he do? Should he fortify Atlanta, destroy Hood's army, and hold the country he had conquered; or should he endeavor to give the

Confederacy a death-blow, by pushing on to the sea—capturing Savannah and Charleston, marching northward and insuring the fall of Richmond, and the destruction of the Army of Virginia under General Lee? The world knows what he determined to do, and how thoroughly he did what he undertook. His march to the sea was as grand in design as it was splendid in execution. To Sherman alone belongs the honor of the design; to him and to his army, the honor of the achievment. It was, in conception and accomplishment, one of the grandest enterprises of which there is a record. When it was understood in the North that Sherman, with an army of sixty or seventy thousand men, had abandoned his base and commenced a march through a hostile country, upon which he must largely depend for supplies until by capturing cities upon the sea-board he could open communication with the national fleet, the joy over the fall of Atlanta gave way to anxiety, and as days followed days, and weeks followed weeks, without any certain intelligence of his movements, the anxiety became intense. The relief was long in coming, and when it did come, when the report was received that the army was in excellent condition, in the neighborhood of Savannah, there was greater joy and hopefulness throughout the loyal States than had been witnessed since the outbreak of the war. It was an assurance that the days of the Confederacy were nearly numbered.

The march through Georgia proved to be, however, neither difficult nor dangerous. Forage was abundant, and there were no armed forces to be contended with. It was a pleasure trip, in comparison with the hardships that were soon to be encountered. Savannah and Charleston were soon in possession of the national forces, and what and where next, were the questions to be answered by early action. Sherman was decided in his opinion that the march to the sea should be followed by a march to Columbia—to Raleigh—to Richmond. General Grant at first advised that a strong intrenched position should be established at a suitable point,

and that the bulk of the army should be sent by sea to join the Army of the Potomac. This advice, upon reflection, was changed, and Sherman was left to complete the campaign in his own way. Up to this time, as has been said, no serious difficulties had been met. Now the working power, the endurance, and the courage of the army were to be severely tested. Rivers were to be bridged, swamps were to be waded, roads through forests were to be constructed, with an active enemy hovering about, ready to strike whenever a blow could be effectively given. It was the rainy season, and the rains were unusually heavy. The banks of the rivers were overflowed for miles, and the larger part of the route from Charleston to Columbia was through a country covered with water. Such was its condition that the Confederate generals considered it impassable, and yet this grand army made its way through it, at an average rate of ten miles a day. I thought when I read the accounts of it years ago that Sherman's sixteen days' march from Charleston to Columbia was the grandest feat of modern times—that the crossing of the Alps by Napoleon was far less difficult. This opinion has been confirmed by what I have heard and read about it since. I have no knowledge of battles, but I do know something of travel over a flat country in rainy seasons. With a strong horse under me, I have frequently found ten miles a good day's journey, and I can therefore appreciate the enormous work performed by Sherman's army in this part of its celebrated march. I take the liberty of copying the following from General Jacob D. Cox's "March to the Sea":

"An itinerary of the march through South Carolina would furnish interesting daily illustrations of the expedients by which an army of expert woodsmen can overcome difficulties in logistics commonly thought insurmountable. In a country where many of the rivers are known by the name of swamps, continuous rains so raised the waters that scarce a stream was passed without deploying the advanced guard through water waist deep, and sometimes it reached even to the armpits,

forcing them to carry the cartridge-box at the neck and the musket on the head. The fitness of the name 'swamp' for even the rivers will be felt when it is remembered that at the crossing of the Salkehatchie, at Beaufort's Bridge, the stream had fifteen separate channels, each of which had to be bridged before Logan's corps could get over. Whoever will consider the effect of dragging the artillery and hundreds of loaded army wagons over mud roads in such a country, and of the infinite labor required to pave these roads with logs, levelling the surface with smaller poles in the hollows between, adding to the structure as the mass sinks in the ooze, and continuing this till the miles of train have pulled through, will get a constantly growing idea of the work and a steadily increasing wonder that it was done at all. Certainly he will not wonder that the Confederate generals believed they could count upon Sherman's remaining at his base till the rains ceased and the waters subsided. If the march through Georgia remained pictured in the soldiers' memories as a bright frolicsome raid, that through South Carolina was even more indelibly printed as a stubborn wrestle with the elements, in which the murky and dripping skies were so mingled with the earth and water below as to make the whole a fit type of "chaos come again;" but where, also, the indomitable will of sixty thousand men, concentrated to do the inflexible purpose of one, bridged this chaos for hundreds of miles, and, out-laboring Hercules, won a physical triumph, that must always remain a marvel. And mile by mile as they advanced the General and his men were equally clear in the conviction he had expressed to Grant before starting, that every step they took was 'as much a direct attack upon Lee's army as though it were operating within the sound of his artillery.'"

At the time of paroling the Confederate army at Greensboro, N. C., speaking of this part of Sherman's march and of the combination of physical labor with military hardihood, General Johnston said, in the hearing of General Cox, that there had been no such army since the days of Julius Cæsar. He might also have remarked with truthfulness that there have been few such commanders.

I have said more about Sherman, as I did about Thomas, than I intended to say; but it is proper that I should refer briefly to the armistice for which he was so severely criticised. General Joseph E. Johnston, who was in command of the Con-

federate forces that were endeavoring to check Sherman's march from Columbia towards Richmond, and had been foiled in every effort, notably at Bentonsville, where he made a stand behind fortifications from which he was driven after a severe contest,—having been advised of the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee and his army, opened a negotiation with Sherman for the surrender of his army on the 13th of April, the day on which Lincoln was assassinated, and in a few days terms were agreed upon between them, subject to confirmation or rejection by the authorities which they undertook to represent. Immediately upon being informed by Secretary Stanton of the convention, President Johnson called a meeting of his Cabinet at his lodgings (he had not then taken possession of the White House), at which all the members except Mr. Seward were present. The meeting was in the evening, and after the convention had been stated by Mr. Stanton, there was a free interchange of opinions, and the conclusion promptly reached that it should be rejected, the armistice terminated, and no terms but unconditional surrender by Johnston and his army accepted. Mr. Stanton was directed by the President to communicate this decision to General Sherman. In this conclusion the President and his cabinet were a unit. No one, however, attributed to General Sherman any want of fidelity to the Government except Secretary Stanton. To him the terms of surrender seemed such as no truly loyal man could have agreed to, and little short of treason. The rest of the members of the Cabinet were equally strong against the convention, but they were not disposed to attribute improper motives to the soldier who by four years of excellent service to the Government had given the best proof that could be given of unswerving loyalty.

It was understood that the action of the Cabinet should not be made public until after it had been communicated to General Sherman, and the armistice had been terminated. It was, however, generally known the next morning, and at the

instance of Mr. Stanton, General Grant was ordered to Raleigh to relieve General Sherman from all responsibility, and to take command of the army if he should consider it necessary. Before Grant's arrival at Raleigh, Sherman had given General Johnston notice that the Government had disapproved of the convention, and that the armistice was to be terminated. This was speedily followed by the unconditional surrender of the Confederate army.

No one, I think, is more willing than General Sherman to admit that the President and his advisers were clearly right in disapproving of the convention. It was ambiguous, to say the least, upon a question of supreme importance—slavery. Sherman regarded that question as having been settled by President Lincoln's proclamation, and his understanding was that slaves were not property which was to be secured to the Confederates by the convention. This was Johnston's understanding as well as Sherman's, but it is evident from the recently-published correspondence between the President of the Confederacy and his Cabinet, that this was not the construction which would have been given to the language of the convention at the South. General Sherman had no reason to complain—and never has complained—that his action was disapproved of; but he resented the insinuations, if not direct charge, of the Secretary of War, that in his dealings with Johnston he had been treacherous to the Government and to freedom. The treatment which he received at the close of this brilliant campaign was mortifying to his honorable pride. He submitted to it like a true soldier, but he did not consider it his duty to bear tamely unjust imputations upon his honor. The cloud that rested upon him was only partial and temporary. When General Grant became President of the United States the highest rank in the army was conferred upon him, and, in the estimate of his countrymen, his name is second to none in the roll of those by whose bravery, devotion, and talents the national integrity was maintained.

CHAPTER XXI.

General W. S. Hancock—His Modesty and High Sense of Honor—His Nomination for the Presidency—What he Said about the Tariff—Habits Formed by a Soldier Unfitted for the Presidency—General George B. McClellan—His Appointment to the Command of the Army of the Potomac—How it was Received in Indiana and throughout the Country—Condition of the Army when he Took the Command—Its Re-Creation—His Scheme for the Prosecution of the War—His Inaction and its Effect upon his Reputation—Appointment by Congress of a Joint Committee to Inquire into the Conduct of the War—Peninsular Campaign Commenced under Unfavorable Circumstances—Its failure, although Great Skill was Manifested in its Conduct—General McClellan not Properly Sustained in Washington—The Command of the Army Transferred to General Pope—The Second Battle of Bull Run—McClellan Takes Again, at the Request of the President, the Command of the Army—Its Discipline rapidly Restored—Battles of South Mountain and Antietam—General McClellan Relieved of his Command and Ordered to Trenton—The Hold he Had upon his Army—His Private Character.

I MET General Hancock for the first time a few days after the battle of Gettysburg. I had known something of his early history; that two years after he graduated at West Point he had been brevetted first lieutenant for his bravery in the war with Mexico, and I was quite familiar with his military history from the commencement of the civil war. I knew that he had won distinguished honors on the Peninsula, at South Mountain and Antietam, and that his praise was in everybody's mouth for the excellent judgment and gallantry that he had displayed at Gettysburg. I was therefore desirous to know him personally, and I met him with the most favorable impressions of his merit as a soldier. From that time my acquaintance with him was as intimate as the difference in our pursuits and our places of abode would permit; and the better I knew him, the higher did he rise in my estimation. In

uprightness, in a keen sense of honor, in kindness of heart, in generosity, in genuine manliness, he had no superior in the army. To jealousy he was a stranger. If he thought, as many of his friends did, that his services were not properly appreciated, he never expressed or indicated it. In the field, in the management of the troops under his command, wherever valor came into full exercise, he was, in the language of one who fought with him and under him, "simply magnificent." Of his qualifications to command an army and conduct a campaign, there must have been some doubt in the mind of Mr. Lincoln, or he would have been tried in that capacity. It is not unlikely that these doubts were created by Secretary Stanton, with whom Hancock was not a favorite. There was apparently no good ground for them. In all the battles in which he was engaged, and which were unfavorable to the Union armies, his position was a subordinate one, and he was in no manner responsible for their results. On the contrary, his conduct in each was such as to justify the opinion that he possessed the qualities for absolute command; that if he had succeeded McClellan in command, the battle of Fredericksburg would not have been fought, and no such disasters as those at Chancellorsville and Bull Run would have befallen the grand Army of the Potomac, or of Virginia, as it was for a short time called. Burnside had rendered good service in North Carolina; Hooker was distinguished for his bravery, and Pope had won a high reputation in the West; but neither, outside of the War Department, was considered the equal, as a soldier or commander, of Hancock. Their preference to him was a surprise to me, as I think it was to others who were acquainted with their respective histories. It was by Hancock's advice that Lee was met at Gettysburg, and although General Meade was in command, to him more than to any other one man the nation was indebted for the most important victory of the war. For his services at Gettysburg he received the thanks of Congress. Having been

wounded in that battle, and thereby incapacitated for active service until the spring of 1864, when General Grant had been appointed General of the Army, the only further honor that could be conferred upon him was that of corps commander. As such he took a prominent part in the battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor, in all of which he displayed the high qualities that always distinguished him upon the battle-field, and which gave to him a name among American generals like that of Ney among the marshals of France.

Next to being elected President, the worst thing that can happen to a successful military general is to be a candidate for that high office. A stranger to the freedom of the press and the unfairness of politicians, in reading Republican newspapers and listening to Republican orators, when Hancock was a candidate for the Presidency, would have supposed that he was destitute of both intelligence and patriotism. Nothing could have been wider from the truth. Of his patriotism there could be no question. In general intelligence, he was not inferior to any of the well-educated men of the army, except perhaps McClellan and Sherman and Thomas and Canby. He was a good deal ridiculed for speaking of the tariff as a local question. That the tariff, which had been especially the apple of discord from the foundation of the Government, and which at one time threatened the integrity of the Union, should be spoken of by a candidate for the Presidency as a local question, did seem to be absurd. But was it? The tariff was then, as it is now, one of the most interesting questions before the country; but it has always been, to a considerable extent, a sectional, and consequently a local question. It has not been a question upon which the two great parties have been divided. It is true that the Republican party is more strongly committed to the tariff, or rather to its protective features, than the Democratic party, but many of the strongest advocates of a purely revenue tariff

are Republicans, while among the Democrats there are not a few out and out protectionists. In Congress, the advocates of protection are chiefly from manufacturing districts—its opponents from commercial and agricultural. It was not, therefore, so very absurd for General Hancock to speak of it as a local question.

The tariff certainly has never been fairly presented in the platforms of either party. There has been a good deal of dodging about it on both sides. It has never been discussed throughout the country as a national question, upon the definite settlement of which great national interests are dependent. I trust that the time is not far distant when it will be so presented, discussed and settled. My position upon this question is not uncertain. An original Henry Clay Whig, a believer in what was called the American system, and now and since the party was formed, a Republican, I favor the reduction of the tariff to a revenue standard. A tariff for revenue cannot be so framed as not to give all the protection which is needed to enable our manufacturers, with their superior aptitude in the invention and use of machinery, and with most of the raw materials at hand, to compete successfully in the markets of the world with foreign manufacturers and their cheaper labor. I do not see where relief from over-production in the United States is to come from except in a freer trade with foreign nations. Neither I nor my children will live to see the day, but I am hopeful that it is not very far in the future, that the United States, and the European nations, that are now following our bad example, will let down the bars and remove all restrictions upon international trade. In no other way can brotherhood be established among the nations, the principles of Christianity be vindicated, and the best interests of all be promoted. The country is, however, indebted to the protective tariff for the rapid reduction of the public debt, which is no small compensation for its burden.

General Hancock, had he been elected, would not have been a bad President, but I do not think he would have been a very good one. The education and habits of military men do not fit them for the performance of high civil duties. Our experience with military men in the Presidency has not been fortunate. Jackson could not divest himself of the habits of the soldier. He was self-willed, arbitrary, overbearing—the first of the Presidents to give to the administration of the Government a personal character. Neither of our military Presidents, except Washington, was selected because he was supposed to be especially qualified for the place, but because military prestige was a strong element in popular favor. Harrison would not have been thought of for the Presidency if he had not been distinguished in the Indian wars; nor would Taylor, if he had not been the "Rough and Ready" of the war with Mexico; nor would Grant, but for his military renown. The most ardent friends of Harrison or Taylor could hardly have expected that their administrations would be such as the country would have been proud of, and Grant would have stood higher in the respect of the best men of the country if he had not been President. Washington was a general, but he was a statesman also, and of the very highest grade, of which he had given ample proof before his election. It was well for Hancock that he was defeated. As President, he might have been a failure. His fame now rests upon his military services, and there it rests securely. His record as a soldier is without a blemish. A gallant soldier was he, without fear and without reproach.

The appointment of General George B. McClellan to the command of the Army of the Potomac, on the day after the first battle of Bull Run, was hailed with satisfaction throughout the loyal States. He had graduated at West Point with high honor. He had been brevetted as first lieutenant and captain for his gallantry in the Mexican war. As a member of a military commission, he had visited the Crimea to observe

the military operations of the combined French and English armies, of which he made a very interesting and instructive report. He had resigned as an army officer in 1857, to become successively chief engineer and vice-president of the Illinois Central, and president of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad companies. He had promptly offered his services to the Government upon the outbreak of the civil war, and had been appointed to the command of the Department of the Ohio. He had been commissioned a major-general in the regular army; had taken command of the Union forces in West Virginia; had beaten the Confederates, Garnet and Pegram, in two sharp engagements, and forced General Lee to abandon the State. There was, therefore, good reason for the favor with which his appointment to the command of the Army of the Potomac was so universally received. I was then living in Indiana, and I recollect perfectly how I felt, and all my friends felt, about the appointment. James M. Ray, the cashier of the bank of which I was the president, saw the announcement before I did, and came to me with a face radiant with joy, exclaiming: "Good news! good news! General McClellan has been ordered to Washington to take command of the army. There will be no more Bull Runs." "You think, then," I said, "that General McClellan is going to save the nation?" "Certainly I do. He is to do for the people of the United States what Moses did for the children of Israel. I have not a particle of doubt that he has been raised up for this very purpose," was the reply.

Mr. Ray was a zealous Old School Presbyterian, a full believer in the plenary inspiration of the Bible, and in special providence. I did not share his faith, but I was in full sympathy with him in regard to McClellan. One of our Indiana regiments had been in the West Virginia campaign. Its colonel was one of my personal friends, and the account which he gave to me of the conduct of General McClellan in that, the opening campaign of the war, had raised him very high in

my estimation. The great expectations which were excited by his appointment to the command of the Army of the Potomac were not realized. In little more than a year he was relieved of his command, in disrepute with the War Department, and with almost everybody except his personal friends, and the officers and soldiers who had served with him and under him, whose love for him personally, and whose confidence in him as a commander, were never shaken. I thought at the time that he merited the displeasure of the Government, and that neither he nor his friends had reason to complain of the manner in which he was treated. After I went to Washington, and had been better informed in regard to the Peninsular campaign, and the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, and of his conduct after these battles, my mind underwent a radical change, and I came to the conclusion that instead of being relieved by reason of his unsuccess in the Peninsula, and retired after the battle of Antietam, he should have been honored for his generalship and continued in command. I never think of the second battle of Bull Run, that place of ill omen to the Union army; the slaughter—for it was nothing else—at Fredericksburg, and the disaster at Chancellorsville, without feeling that these terrible misfortunes were the consequences of McClellan's retirement. The Army of the Potomac was his army. He had organized it. He was its beloved chief, and it ought not to have been expected that it would do itself full justice when not under his command. It was said—I do not know by what authority—that in the second and third days' battles at Gettysburg, a part of the Union forces fought under the inspiring report that McClellan had been restored to his command, and was directing the general movements.

When General McClellan was called to Washington to take command of the army in July, 1861, he found the capital in a state of utter demoralization. A victory had been so confidently expected, that members of Congress, and other distin-

guished civilians, had followed the army in its first southward movement to participate in the anticipated triumph. The defeat of the Union forces at Bull Run had been so unlooked for that a feeling of dread approximating a panic prevailed throughout the city. What a few days before was a fine and, according to the notions then existing, a well-disciplined army, had become little better than a disunited, disorganized mob. So general was the demoralization, and so insufficient were the fortifications to protect it, that the capital was seemingly at the mercy of the enemy. The army was to be re-created; the despondency which pervaded the city, and which was spreading throughout the country, was to be checked. The emergency was such as to require at Washington for its protection, and to give direction to the movements of the Union troops which were being organized throughout the loyal States, a man who commanded the public confidence and the respect of the army officers. Such a man was then General McClellan, who, without an hour's delay, entered upon the performance of the duties of his command, and with so much vigor were they performed that the gloom produced by the first disaster speedily disappeared, and wonder was expressed that so great depression should have been caused by a single defeat. For three months General McClellan's duties were confined to protecting the city with fortifications, to re-creating and re-organizing the Army of the Potomac; to making it what it became under his masterly direction—the best-disciplined and, when ably led, the most efficient of the Federal armies. The newspapers thought that he was spending too much time in getting his forces in readiness for fighting; but so strong was his hold upon the public confidence that on the 1st of November, with the full approval of General Scott, with whom he was not on amicable terms, and as stated by Mr. Lincoln in his first annual message to Congress, with the unanimous concurrence of the people, he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the national forces.

This is what General Webb said of him on his assuming the command: "The order of General McClellan in assuming the command is noticeable as coming from so young an officer. His orders to General Buell, in charge of the Department of the Ohio, and General Halleck, in charge of that of Missouri, together with his letters to General Sherman, commanding at Port Royal, and to General Butler in the Southwest, show the vigor of thought and the grasp of the man who had been called to the prosecution of the war which extended over half a continent."

General McClellan's scheme was indeed a magnificent one. It was for active operations all along the lines. Richmond and Nashville, Savannah and Charleston, were to be captured; the Mississippi was to be opened; the Confederates were to be pressed at all points as nearly simultaneously as might be possible. For the execution of such a scheme much time was required. Before it was put into operation, or could have been under the most efficient organizer, an order was issued without his approval and without his knowledge relieving him from the command of all the armies except the Army of the Potomac; and for nearly three years, and until General Grant was appointed lieutenant-general, the war was carried on without a controlling military head. The prolongation of the war, and many of the reverses of the Union army, are doubtless attributable to this fact. The Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, was a very able lawyer, self-reliant and energetic, but violent in his prejudices and without military knowledge. The generals in command of the separate armies were, with a few exceptions, men of ability, but there were jealousies among them, and there was no absolute commander to give unity to their movements.

When General McClellan issued his first order, as commander-in-chief, his star was at its zenith. Its decline was rapid. The inaction of the Army of the Potomac in the autumn of 1861 was a great disappointment to the people of

the North. More time was consumed than was supposed to be necessary in fortifying the city and in perfecting the discipline of the army. Meanwhile the Confederates were active and daring. They blockaded the Potomac, and displayed their flag almost within sight of the capitol. The daily report which went out from Washington, that all was quiet on the Potomac, became a reproach to the Government and to the army. It was understood that there was to be a movement upon Richmond by the Army of the Potomac, but when and by what route seemed to be quite undecided. General McClellan was the sole keeper of his own counsels. He had no confidential communications with any one, not even with the President. His relations with the Secretary of War were more than unfriendly. To the criticisms of the press he was seemingly indifferent. The only explanation which he made of his inaction was, that time was required to fortify Washington in such a manner that no large force would be required for its protection, and to perfect and put into operation his plans for simultaneous action by all the armies, which might be jeopardized by any partial movements. Whether the delay was needful or not, he was undoubtedly the best judge; but when the winter was passed, and the spring found the grand army still in its tents, the popular dissatisfaction and the dissatisfaction of the Government became too strong to be resisted. The public debt was rapidly increasing; the relations between the Government and foreign nations were becoming delicate; inaction could no longer be tolerated.

Whether General McClellan was justly or not chargeable with unnecessary delay in the long-expected aggressive movements by the armies generally, and especially the Army of the Potomac, is a question upon which a difference of opinion existed, and still exists; but he greatly suffered in consequence of it; and when he took the field in March, the prestige with which he came to Washington in July was sadly diminished. He was no longer a popular idol. Doubts began to be enter-

tained and expressed by men of influence not only of his ability to command a large army, but of his devotion to the cause. His failure to respond to the "On to Richmond!" cry created the opinion that he lacked what is essential in the character of a commander—self-confidence; his real, or supposed, want of sympathy with the anti-slavery sentiment of the North produced distrust of his fidelity to the true principles of civil liberty, among that large body of earnest men who clearly saw, what all intelligent men ought to have seen, that the real issue in the struggle in which the Government was engaged was between freedom and slavery; that the irrepressible conflict had been commenced; that, as it was quite certain that the Government could not much longer remain part slave and part free, the question whether slavery should be nationalized or uprooted was to be decided in the only way in which it could be decided—by arms. Then, too, Congress had appointed a joint committee to inquire into the conduct of the war, by which some of the prominent generals were examined in regard to what had been done, and, in their judgment, what ought to be done, in order to bring about a more vigorous prosecution of the war. The members of the committee were able and ardent men, who reflected the impatience of a large majority of the people at the inactivity of the armies, and especially of the inactivity of the Army of the Potomac. The proceedings of the committee were understood to be private, but it was soon publicly known that all of the members were in accord in the opinion that there was great lack of vigor on the part of the commander-in-chief, and that this opinion had been expressed in strong language to the President.

The committee not only examined army officers in regard to the general conduct of the war, but also in regard to the line of advance upon Richmond. On this point there was a difference between the President and General McClellan. The former had a decided preference for a direct movement against

Richmond, as the surest to protect Washington and bring about early results. The plan of the latter was to make the attack indirectly, and by the York or James river. The committee agreed with the President; but as the disagreement between him and McClellan might lead to serious trouble, the question was submitted to a council of twelve division commanders, which, by a vote of eight to four, approved of the route designed by McClellan. The fact that such a committee was appointed showed a lack of confidence on the part of the President and his advisers in the judgment of the general upon whom the responsibility for the results of the campaign was mainly to rest. Nobody knew what the general's plan was until a few days before it was disclosed to the committee. As has been said, he was not in confidential communication with even the President, and many were led to believe that the inaction of the army was attributable to his indecision in regard to the line of march. The alleged, and doubtless the true, reasons for his uncommunicativeness were: first, that the President must of necessity be influenced in his judgment by the Secretary of War, who would not approve any plan of his designing; and second, that his plan, if disclosed, would be at once known by the enemy. Washington, at that time, was full of spies, who seemed to have no difficulty in ascertaining everything that was done or contemplated by the War Department, and communicating it to Richmond. Not only was a council of generals called upon to determine the route of the army, but before the campaign was commenced, and before the comparative merits of the respective generals could be tested, an order was issued not only in disregard of, but in opposition to, the expressed wishes of McClellan, for the division of the army into four army corps, and for the assignment of officers to the commands. No intimation was given to McClellan that such an order was contemplated, and the first knowledge he had of it was from the newspapers.

It is thus seen that the Peninsular campaign was com-

menced under the most unfavorable auspices. The plan of the campaign, although consented to, was not heartily approved by the President. The general who was to conduct it had lost, in a great measure, the public confidence, and he had incurred the ill will of Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War. How powerful this ill will was, was exhibited during the war in numerous instances besides that of McClellan. That a campaign commenced under such circumstances would be a failure, ought to have been expected. Was its failure chargeable to McClellan? I thought it was when the campaign ended, and he was relieved of his command; but, as I have said, I thought differently when I became acquainted with its history. His plan had been carefully considered and approved by a majority of the division commanders. It embraced the co-operation of the navy, and it required, for complete success, an army of at least 140,000 men. The navy was not able to render to him any effective services, and the available force at his disposal (McDowell's corps having been detached for the protection of Washington) never came up to ninety thousand men. His requirements were well known at the War Department before the campaign was opened. If they were not to be complied with, he should have been so advised. The plan should not have been approved unless the necessary means for its execution were to be supplied. General McClellan should have been superseded, or his demands should not have been ignored. To hold a general responsible for the results of a campaign which he has planned, without furnishing him with what he considers needful for its accomplishment, is rank injustice. Was not this injustice meted out to General McClellan?

It has not been denied by any competent and impartial soldier that the Union forces were well handled in all the Peninsular battles. The elements were against them. Unusual rains had made the roads nearly impassable. A large extent of land bordering upon the rivers was inundated. To the

Union soldiers it seemed like a God-forsaken country; but they sustained their labors and discomforts with a heroism, and met the enemy, the flower of the Confederate armies, with a bravery, that have never been surpassed. The first battle, the battle at Williamsburg, was fought while McClellan was away. Some misunderstanding between the corps commanders made the victory dearly bought; but it was a victory. In the battle of Fair Oaks, which was fought a few days after, the Confederates were the assailants, and it was fought on their part with the determination to drive the Federal forces from their position and cut off their line of supplies before they were reinforced by McDowell. The plan was carefully considered, and would have been successful but for the excellent generalship of the Federal officers and the indomitable pluck of the soldiers. The fighting was admirable on both sides, but the result was a severe discomfiture of the Confederates, who during the night retreated to the intrenchments in the immediate neighborhood of Richmond. At the close of this battle, the leading Federal column was within four miles, the entire army within ten miles, of the Confederate capital. General McClellan reported that his active force did not exceed 80,000 men; that from the best information he could obtain, the Confederates, besides being in defensive positions, and with a base of supplies near at hand, greatly outnumbered him. In his appeal to the President, he said: "I ask for all the men that the War Department can send to me. I will fight the enemy, whatever their force may be, with whatever force I have, and I firmly believe we shall beat them; but our triumph should be decisive and complete. The soldiers of this army love their Government, and will fight for its support. You may rely upon them. They have confidence in me as their general, and in you as their President. Strong reinforcements will at least save the lives of many of them. The greater our force, the more perfect will be our combinations and the less our loss."

General McDowell, with nothing to do but to protect

Washington, which was is no real danger, could then have been at once placed at the disposal of McClellan. If he had been, Richmond would probably have fallen and the campaign would have been crowned with success. All of McClellan's movements, after York had been abandoned, had been made in the confident expectation that he could rely upon McDowell for reinforcements when reinforcements should be absolutely necessary. The reply of the President to McClellan's appeal was favorable, and an order was given to McDowell to place himself at McClellan's command; but before the order could be executed there was a panic in Washington, which was caused by the sudden appearance of Stonewall Jackson upon the Potomac, over which he had driven General Banks from the valley of Virginia. The order to McDowell was therefore revoked, and his forces remained in front of Washington, and for its protection, about which great solicitude was felt throughout the country. There is good reason for the opinion which was entertained by McClellan that this raid by Jackson was made, not with a view of an attack upon Washington, but to prevent the reinforcement of the Army of the Potomac. Everything of an important character that was done or contemplated in Washington was speedily known in Richmond. It was there understood that McClellan expected to be reinforced by McDowell. To prevent this reinforcement was a matter of deep concern to the Confederates, and Jackson was ordered to make a show of an attack upon Washington.

This was done. McDowell did not reinforce McClellan, and in a few days Jackson was in Richmond with the army of Virginia, at the head of which was General Lee, who had been assigned to its command after the battle at Fair Oaks, at which General Johnston had been wounded. It was this reinforcement of General Lee that changed the movements of both armies. McClellan had received some reinforcements, but they were not equal to what General Lee had received in the accession of Jackson to his command. Up to this time the

Union army had been steadily advancing towards Richmond, until it was nearly in sight of the city. Then the advance was checked; the Confederates became the assailants, and McClellan was forced to carry out a design he had formed in case he was not reinforced, and the Confederates proved to be too strong to be overcome, of making the James his base for further operations. In carrying out this design he was attacked with great vigor, and for seven days there was continuous, desperate fighting, in which, however, the Confederates were the heaviest sufferers, although the strongest in numbers. The last and most desperate battle was at Malvern Hill, at which the Confederates were repelled at all points; and on the evening of the day on which it was fought, the Army of the Potomac was upon the banks of the James and under the guns of the Union fleet. Thus ended the first advance upon Richmond. Two years after, the Union army was upon the same river, to which it had been forced from the direct line on which the campaign had been commenced, and it was here that the effective siege of Richmond was commenced by General Grant. General McClellan had always thought that Washington would be best protected by energetic movements against Richmond. The Confederates were almost as sensitive about the safety of Richmond as the officers of the Government and the people of the North were about the safety of Washington. Washington was well fortified, and was never in real danger after the first battle of Bull Run, except when the Union forces had been withdrawn from the neighborhood of Richmond. It required no large army in front for its protection while Richmond was threatened. This was McClellan's opinion, and it was in accord with that which was afterwards entertained by General Grant; as was also his opinion that the line of attack upon the Confederate capital was by the James.

The retrograde movement of McClellan towards the James for a new base of supplies, and a movement against Richmond

on the south as soon as he was reinforced, was a retreat, but so skilfully was it conducted that his forces were not demoralized by it. Such was the confidence of the soldiers in their commander, that they fought with the same spirit and maintained the same discipline that they would have displayed if they had been the assailants. Outnumbered by the enemy, they preserved their order, and although steadily retreating, they were never overcome. The manner in which the retreat was conducted commanded the admiration of military men, abroad as well as at home. The spirit of the army when it reached the James was unbroken. Its numbers had been diminished by battles and by sickness, not by desertions. It was the same highly disciplined, resolute army that it was when it was nearly within sight of Richmond. All it needed was reinforcements to renew the offensive, and from the same position that was occupied by the same army under General Grant two years after. Instead of reinforcements, General McClellan received an order to transfer his army from the James to a point on the Potomac near Washington. Against this order remonstrance was vain, and although he believed it would lead to disaster, he obeyed without hesitation. Nor did he complain when he saw, to his inexpressible mortification, the Army of the Potomac, under an order from Washington, transferred to the command of General Pope. Deprived of his command, without having been formally superseded, he was denied even the privilege of being present at the pending conflict. To his request that he might go with his staff to the scene of battle—the disastrous second battle of Bull Run—to be present with his men, who he "thought would fight none the worse for his being with them"—General Halleck replied: "I cannot answer without seeing the President, as General Pope, by his order, is in command of the Department." Could there have been anything more wicked? Here was the general by whom the army had been trained to service—the army of which he was the idol—humbly begging

that he might share its fate in a battle of momentous importance, and being coolly informed that his request could not be complied with without the authority of the President. Halleck must have known that General McClellan's presence on the battle-field would greatly encourage the men that confided in him and loved him. If authority from the President was needed in order that this request might be complied with, why was not the authority obtained? General McClellan was not superseded, but he was deprived of his command by an order which must have been prepared for the purpose of insulting him. After the entire Army of the Potomac had been combined with what was then called the Army of Virginia, the following order was issued from the War Department:

"WAR DEPARTMENT *August* 30, 1862.

"The following are the commanders of armies operating in Virginia:

"General Burnside commands his own corps, except those that have been temporarily detached and assigned to General Pope.

"General McClellan commands that portion of the Army of the Potomac that has not been sent forward to General Pope's command.

"General Pope commands the Army of Virginia, and all the forces temporarily attached to it. All the forces are under the command of Major-General Halleck, General-in-Chief.

"E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant General.*"

If McClellan had been of a revengeful disposition, the opportunity of gratifying it was at hand. After a number of hard days' fighting, the army under General Pope was defeated. When the news of his defeat reached Washington it produced, of course, a panic—a panic of the most exciting character. The enemy were supposed to be close at hand, and with force enough to capture the city. In this emergency the eyes of the citizens and of the officers of the Government were involuntarily turned to McClellan as the only man who could save it. Not having been permitted to participate in

the battles which had resulted so unfortunately to the Union forces, he had joined his family in Washington. Early on the morning of September 2 he was surprised by a call from the President and General Halleck, who came to him with the tidings from the front, and to ask that he would again take command of the army. Three days before he had been virtually deprived of his command by an order from the War Department. Would he now take command of the forces demoralized by defeat and flying before the enemy, and save the capital? This was the most that was then hoped for:— Would he take the command, and prevent the Confederates from entering Washington? Without a moment's hesitation, forgetful of the injustice he had suffered, the indignities that had been heaped upon him, he replied that he would accept the command, and stake his life upon the protection of the city. Within an hour he was in the saddle with his staff inspecting the approaches to the city from the south, and making arrangements for the reception of the defeated and and demoralized troops. So great were the fears at the War Department of an immediate attack upon the city, that he was instructed by Halleck not to go to the front, but to give his attention to the defences. In the afternoon, however, he rode out a few miles from the city, and met the foremost brigade of the retreating army, and Generals Pope and McDowell, with a regiment of cavalry. Having informed General Pope that the defence of Washington had been assigned to him, he rode on a few miles further, and met a large body of troops, by whom he was recognized, and as the report went from company to company, and from regiment to regiment, that their beloved general, "Little Mac," as he was sometimes familiarly called, was at the head again, there was such shouting as was never before heard from a retreating army.

Of the merits of a commander, none are so competent to judge as his soldiers. The Army of the Potomac was composed of men of unusual intelligence. There were hundreds

in the ranks who were fitted to be captains; scores who were fitted to be colonels and generals. The manner in which McClellan was received by such men—the men whom he had trained, under whom they had fought in the desperate battles of the Peninsula—was not only a compliment to him as a man, but a strong testimony to his merit as a commander. I have met with many of these men since the war, and from none have I heard a word that was not favorable to McClellan. He had been, unfortunately, a candidate for the Presidency, on a platform that declared the war a failure, and he consequently suffered politically in the esteem of many of his fellow-soldiers, but their respect for him as a commander, and personally, was never lost. No general ever commanded the confidence of his men to a greater degree; none was ever more loved.

General McClellan took the command of the army at the verbal request of the President, for the defence of the city, which, at that time, was supposed to be in imminent danger, and the only order which was issued with respect to his duty was the following:

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., *Sept.* 2, 1862.

"Major-General McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington, and of the troops for the defence of the Capital.

"By order of Major-General HALLECK.
"E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant General.*'

Fairly interpreted, this order meant that he should not only take charge of the fortifications, but do whatever he thought necessary for the protection of the city. No one knew better than he the character of the fortifications, for they had been mainly constructed under his general directions, and no one was so well qualified to anticipate and thwart the movements of the enemy. He regarded General Lee as too prudent a soldier to attack the city in front, and he was confident that if any movement against it were attempted, it

would be by cutting off its communications with the North. To prevent this movement from being successful, if attempted, and to beat the enemy in battle, was the only way in which the city could be protected. His duty was therefore plain,—to restore the discipline of the army; to renew confidence in itself, so that it would be prepared to meet the enemy by which it had been recently beaten. Time was pressing; the enemy flushed with victory, and inspired by the belief that the Confederate banner would soon wave over the Capitol, was in the neighborhood. This enemy was to be met and driven back towards Richmond by the very troops that had been demoralized by recent disasters.

In accepting the command at this critical time, General McClellan understood perfectly the tremendous responsibility which it involved. He knew that the safety of the capital, and perhaps the preservation of the Union, depended upon the result of a battle or battles soon to be fought. He knew that the army he should have to meet was the best disciplined and the most high spirited of the Confederate forces, and that they were under the command of the ablest officers in the Confederate service. He knew, also, that Halleck, the General-in-Chief, was unfriendly to him; that Stanton, the Secretary of War, was his enemy; and that any misfortune that might happen to his command would be attributed, by his superiors in station, to a want of ability or to misconduct on his part. All this he knew, but he did not hesitate to comply with the request of the President. He was true to his convictions of duty. He had confidence in the army, and he had confidence in himself. The simple fact that he was willing to take the command under circumstances so inauspicious should have dispelled all doubts in regard to his self-reliance and self-confidence. The rapidity with which he restored the discipline and revived the spirit of his troops, and the manner in which he handled them in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, should have banished forever all scepticism in regard to

his merits as a commander. In two weeks from the time at which he took the command two very severe battles had been fought and the Confederate army driven back over the Potomac, which it had so recently crossed in triumph. After battles have been fought, it is easy enough for unfriendly critics to discover how this or that movement might have been improved, how this or that mistake might have been avoided; but it has never been denied, by fair-minded and competent judges, that, on the whole, the battles of South Mountain and Antietam were skilfully fought by the Union forces; nor is there room for reasonable doubt that if the Confederates had been the victors, they would have taken possession of the capital. May it not be justly said, therefore, that the nation was at that time saved from so terrible a misfortune by General McClellan? And yet, strange as it now appears, and still more strange as it will appear to the future historian, on the 5th of November, within two months from the time the battle of Antietam was fought, the following orders were issued:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., *November* 5, 1862.

"GENERAL: On the receipt of the order of the President sent herewith, you will immediately turn over your command to Major-General Burnside, and repair to Trenton, New Jersey, reporting, on your arrival at that place, for further orders.

"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"H. W. HALLECK, *General-in-Chief.*

"Major-General McClellan."

"WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., *Nov.* 5, 1862.

"By direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-General Burnside take the command of the army.

"By order of the Secretary of War,
"E. D. TOWNSEND, *Adjutant-General.*"

Thus summarily was McClellan dismissed, and thus was

ended his military career. The alleged reasons for his retirement were:

First, that he failed to follow up the victory of Antietam as he ought to have done, and might have done, by pursuing the enemy, and preventing him from crossing the Potomac. To this it was only necessary for him to say that his men were nearly exhausted by marching and fighting, and were in no condition to follow an army, the very flower of the Confederate force, under the command of the ablest Confederate generals, and that his duties had been strictly limited to the defence of the city.

Second, that after he had crossed the river, he failed to comply with the orders of the President for aggressive movements against General Lee; that precious time was wasted in preparations to move. The answer to this allegation was found in the fact, substantiated by conclusive evidence, that his army had not been supplied with what was needed for an aggressive campaign.

McClellan was retired, and what happened to the Army of the Potomac? Terrible slaughter under Burnside at Fredericksburg; crushing defeat at Chancellorsville under Hooker.

The hold which McClellan had upon his men, their love for him, and the confidence they had in him, were displayed when he took his leave of them and turned over the command to Burnside, when it was difficult to say which predominated, sorrow or indignation; sorrow that they were to be separated from their beloved commander; indignation at the injustice with which he had been treated.

The prevalent opinion in regard to McClellan was, that it was his habit to overrate the strength of the enemy and underrate his own; that he was too much of an engineer, too cautious, too prudent for an efficient commander; that he was wanting in that self-confident daring which, united with a clear head and military knowledge, has been the characteristic of successful generals. His position from the time he took

command of the Army of the Potomac up to the close of his military career was such as to make him cautious and prudent, but I have looked in vain in his military history for the evidence of such defects as have been attributed to him. It is certainly not found in his first campaign in West Virginia; not in the Peninsula, where he had everything to contend with which was calculated to discourage him and his army, with no word of cheer from the headquarters in Washington; not in his willingness to take again the command of the army after it had been shattered and demoralized; not in the rapidity with which its discipline was restored and its spirit revived, so that it was able to meet and overcome the same foes by which it had been defeated a few days before. The evidence of General McClellan's deficiencies are found, not in a correct history of his military career, but in the press and in the dispatches of the War Department. He was unfortunate in not comprehending the true cause of the rebellion, and in the view which he entertained upon the question of slavery. He was unfortunate in the use of his name by his political friends, in connection with the Presidency while in the field. He was still more unfortunate in permitting his temper to get the better of his judgment, in attributing to the War Department indifference in regard to the result of the Peninsular campaign; in writing to the President a letter which would have been well enough in a political contest, but which was grossly improper when addressed by a general in the field to his superior. All this and more can be admitted without derogation to his merits as a soldier. He was permanently retired under a cloud within little more than a month from the time when, with a recently beaten army, he had achieved a very important victory; retired under circumstances that seemingly justified the opinion that there were influences at work in Washington which demanded his retirement as a political necessity. To doubt that the cloud that rested upon him when he was ordered to Trenton will be cleared

away, that his high military character will be vindicated, would be to doubt the triumph of truth over jealousy and misrepresentation. A Confederate general who served with distinction in the Army of Virginia under Johnston and Lee, said to me in 1874: "There was no Union general whom we so much dreaded as McClellan. We could always tell when he was in command by the manner in which the Union troops were handled, and the number of our dead and wounded. We received the blows, and we knew who dealt the heaviest ones. We were sorry when we heard that he had been restored to command, after we had defeated Pope, and we were glad when he was retired." "Did you consider him the ablest of the generals of the Army of the Potomac?" I inquired. "Certainly we did," was they reply; "he had, as we thought no equal."

It is enough to say of General McClellan in his private and social life, that he was in the truest sense a Christian gentleman. I had no sympathy with him in politics; I did what I could to prevent his election to the Presidency. What I have said about him has been prompted only by a sense of duty to one who periled his life in his country's service, and who merited lasting honor instead of the ignominy to which he was subjected, and the disrepute which still, to some extent, attaches to his name.

The foregoing was written before General McClellan's autobiography (which I have not read), was published. I have preferred, in my sketches of prominent men, to present the impressions which have been made upon me by my own observations, and what I considered reliable information, rather than to subject myself to the influence of what may have been said by themselves or their friends.

CHAPTER XXII.

General Grant in the Spring of 1861—War not Expected until the Attack upon Sumter—Grant Appointed Colonel—A Brigadier by Brevet—Battle of Belmont—Appointed to the Command of the District of Cairo—Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson—Appointed Major-General of Volunteers—General C. F. Smith—Battle of Shiloh—Union Army Saved by Arrival of General Buell with Reinforcements—Capture of Vicksburg—It places General Grant at the Head of the Union Generals—The Man of Destiny—Battle of Chickamauga—General William S. Rosecrans—His Merits as a Soldier—Battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge—General Grant made Lieutenant-General—Condition of the Union Army in 1864—Battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor—Heavy Losses Sustained by the Union Army—Difference in the Condition of the Union and Confederate States—The Siege and Capture of Richmond—General Grant's Character and Capabilities as a Soldier.

THAT fact is stranger than fiction, is illustrated in the life of General Ulysses S. Grant. Few men were ever subject to so great vicissitudes, none ever rose so rapidly from obscurity to fame; from a very low estate to the highest. In the spring of 1861 he was utterly unknown outside of a very limited circle. In 1868 he was elected President of the United States by an overwhelming majority over one of the most distinguished men of the day.

Educated at West Point, he entered the army a second lieutenant, and for gallantry in the war with Mexico, he was brevetted captain. In 1853 he was promoted to a full captaincy, which he resigned the year following to engage in farming, in which he was unsuccessful. At the outbreak of the civil war he was in the employment of his father, at a tannery in Galena, Illinois. To no graduate of West Point could the outlook for life have been more unpromising than it must have been to Captain Grant in the spring of 1861. He had been, in all branches except mathematics, below medi-

ocrity in his class at West Point; his mind had not been improved by study after he graduated; he had no capacity for business; he lacked self-control; he was dependent upon his father for his own support and the support of his family. To him the war was a godsend. It developed qualities which war only could bring out. But for the war, he would have lived in poverty, and died in obscurity. Until its actual commencement, war between the States, war for the maintenance of the Government, had not been anticipated, or even seemed possible to the people of the Northern States. There had been threatenings at the South of a rupture of the Union; some of the States had adopted ordinances of secession; but until Fort Sumter was fired upon, a resort to arms was foreign to the thought of all loyal citizens. The attack upon Sumter dispelled this illusion, deeply stirred the martial spirit, and called into exercise the patriotism of all to whom the Union was of priceless value. The call of the President for seventy-five thousand volunteers was responded to in a manner that showed how strong the love of the Union among the masses really was. To this call, three times the number required tendered their services. Men were plenty, but there was a lack of competent officers. The militia system had long since been permitted to die out. A small Federal army had been sufficient to protect the frontier against the Indians; there had been no other use for it since the war with Mexico. With the exception of a few militia regiments in the large cities, there were no military organizations in the United States. In the Eastern and Middle States the people were quite unaccustomed to the use of arms. Most of the settlers in the new States knew how to handle the rifle, but very few had ever seen what was called a "training." Hence men who had received a military education were in great demand; and Grant, who went to Springfield, Illinois, with a company which had been formed at Galena, and of which he had been chosen captain, was welcomed warmly by the Governor. After aid-

ing the Governor for a few weeks in mustering in the volunteers, he was appointed colonel of a regiment, and soon after a brigadier-general of volunteers, by brevet. During the autumn he exhibited much activity in checking the advance of the Confederate forces in northern Kentucky, and fought a battle of some importance at Belmont, Missouri. In December he was appointed to the command of the District of Cairo, which embraced that part of Kentucky which lies west of the Cumberland River; and on the 22d of February, aided by Commodore Foote with his fleet of gunboats, he commenced the aggressive movement which resulted in the capture of Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and of Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, which made him famous. The idea of breaking up, by a land and water movement, the lines of the southwestern Confederate defences was not original with General Grant. It had been suggested by Generals Sherman, Buell, and others; but to Grant is the honor due of carrying it out.

Fort Henry lying upon low ground, was easily taken, the work being chiefly done by the gun-boats. Donelson was strongly built upon a bluff a hundred feet above the water, too high to be damaged by the gun-boats, the most of which were speedily disabled by well-directed fire from the fort. While the fleet was engaged in exchanging shots with the fort, the Union land forces were being placed in position, either for siege or an assault, and the day ended without anything serious being done. The next morning a sortie in force was made by the Confederates, and with so much spirit and persistent hand fighting that the Union forces were driven back from their positions and some of the divisions completely doubled up and routed. General Grant, who had gone to confer with Commodore Foote on his gun-boat, did not reach the lines until about one o'clock. He saw at once that his forces, although worsted in the desperate fight which had been going on for hours, were not beaten, and with that self-possession and indomitable will of which he was that day to give the first

evidence, he resolved that what had been lost should be recovered. Ordering General C. F. Smith, whose division was in better order than any other, to take the lead, and the other commanders to rally their broken troops and regain the positions from which they had been driven, he succeeded after a hard struggle in driving the Confederates within their lines, and converting apparent defeat into victory. Up to the time that General Grant arrived, the advantages were so decidedly on the side of the Confederates, that a great victory was reported to their Western headquarters. The day closed with despondency on the part of the Confederates, and triumphant feelings on the part of the Union forces, notwithstanding the losses they had sustained.

In no other instance in his military career were the self-possession and the resolution of General Grant so clearly displayed as in this, the first great battle in the West. Most generals would have been content with saving the army, after the severe blows which it had received in the morning, instead of attempting to rally it and lead it to victory. Although the Confederates had captured six pieces of artillery, several thousand small arms, and a large number of prisoners, their generals were so disheartened by their reverses after they had, as they thought, achieved a splendid victory, that early in the night they came to the conclusion that the fort could not be successfully defended, and that it should be surrendered the next day on the best terms that could be obtained. During the night two of the Confederate generals, Floyd and Pillow, with part of their commands, left the fort and succeeded in making their escape by steamboats up the river. The next morning General Buckner, who was left in command of the fort, sent a letter to General Grant containing a proposition for the appointment of a commission to agree upon the terms of capitulation, and for an armistice until noon; to which Grant replied: "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immedi-

ately upon your works." This at once settled the question. The fort was surrendered, with its ample stores and munitions, and its garrison of some fifteen thousand able-bodied men, besides the wounded. It was the first decided victory that had crowned the Union arms, and it was hailed with the utmost joy by all the loyal men of the country. Upon the receipt of the news, the President appointed Grant a major-general of volunteers, and the Senate promptly confirmed the appointment. The same honor was conferred a little later, upon four of the division commanders who had distinguished themselves in the fight. It was thought by General Halleck, and many others, that the first honors were due to General C. F. Smith for the manner in which he turned the tide of battle and carried the enemy's outworks. The conduct of General Smith was indeed admirable, but he acted under Grant's command, and it was Grant's coolness and pluck that inspired the Union forces with the determination to recover the ground they had lost. All the generals merited the honors that were conferred upon them, but to Grant was the highest honor due. Not only did he gain renown by the manner in which the lost battle was won, but by the tone of his letter to General Buckner. It was the kind of talk which the loyal people desired to hear. For a long time he was called in the West "Unconditional Surrender Grant."

Some months passed before General Grant added to the reputation he had gained by the capture of Fort Donelson. For a while he seemed to be intoxicated by his success, and in danger of being ruined by a long-existing habit which could not easily be overcome. General Halleck, who had been assigned to the command of the Department of the Mississippi, did, perhaps, injustice to him in the following dispatch, which he sent to General McClellan, who was then commander-in-chief of all the Departments:

"I have had no communication with General Grant for more than a week. He left his command without my author-

ity, and went to Nashville. His army seems to be as much demoralized by the victory of Fort Donelson as was that of the Potomac by the defeat of Bull Run. It is hard to censure a successful general immediately after a victory, but I think he richly deserves it. I can get no reports, no returns, no information of any kind from him. Satisfied with his victory he sits down and enjoys it without any regard to the future. I am worn out and tired by this neglect and inefficiency. C. F. Smith is almost the only officer equal to the emergency." There was undoubtedly cause for the apprehension of his friends that Grant's habits might incapacitate him for any important independent command.

It is enough to say of the next battle in which Grant was engaged—the battle of Shiloh, near Pittsburg Landing, at which a strong force of Union troops had been concentrated for a movement upon Corinth—that it would have resulted in a most serious disaster but for the opportune arrival of General Buell with his army, twenty thousand strong, in the night after the first day's battle. Although the army under General Grant had been lying at the Landing for three weeks, the presence of the enemy in force was not even suspected, until at break of day on the 6th of April it was manifested by a spirited attack upon the Union camps. For a movement against Corinth, ample provision was being made; against an attack by the enemy, none whatever. It has been denied that the Union forces were taken by surprise. If it was not a surprise, it was worse: it was a battle on their part without preparation or plan. The Union forces were driven from their positions, a large number of officers and men were made prisoners and nothing but hard and persistent fighting and darkness saved the entire army from being captured or destroyed in the first day's battle. On that day the contending forces were about equal in numbers. By the arrival of Buell, the Union forces were so strengthened as to be able the next day to assume the offensive and turn the tide. For a while the Confederates

maintained the ground they had won, but the odds were decidedly against them, and they were compelled to retreat. To them it was a defeat, for they had failed to accomplish their object—the destruction of the Union army; but there was little exultation on the part of the victors, and there was no pursuit. The killed and wounded in two days' battles were about ten thousand on each side. The Confederates were the gainers in prisoners.

General Grant gained no credit by the battles at Shiloh. A few days after they were fought, General Halleck arrived at the Landing, assumed the command of the army, and renewed the work of concentrating the Western troops for the long contemplated movement upon Corinth. He soon had under his command a hundred thousand men, the largest force that had been gathered under the Union flag; but the Confederates had been concentrating also, and when the march upon Corinth was commenced, the opposing armies were about of equal strength. In the reorganization of the army by Halleck, General Grant was appointed second in command, but no active duty was assigned to him; and up to the time that Corinth was reached, he was merely a looker-on. The experiences at Shiloh had made the commanders on both sides prudent. This was especially the case with Halleck, who, cautious to an extreme, was nearly a month in reaching Corinth, and then to find it abandoned. As Corinth was the point against which the expedition had been organized, its possession seemed to render the expedition a success; but it had been very costly, and the advantages which had been gained by it were of little permanent value. General Halleck remained at Corinth for a couple of weeks, and then went to Washington to attend to his new duties as a bureau commander-in-chief, leaving General Grant in command. Before he left, however, he had so divided the army that it was three months before offensive operations were resumed. During the autumn and early part of the winter, there were some engagements in

which the Union troops were the victors, but as an offset to them, the Confederates had strengthened Vicksburg and were in complete control of the Mississippi from that point to the vicinity of New Orleans. On the whole, the year 1862, closed without decided advantages on either side.

In the latter part of January, 1863, General Grant took the personal command of the troops on the river, to prosecute the attack upon Vicksburg, that stronghold which could only be successfully assailed in the rear. In every other direction it was impregnable, and the rear could not be reached unless the army could be transferred from above the city to below it. The first attempt to get below the fortifications which commanded the river for a long distance, was by a canal to be cut across the peninsula opposite the city. This canal had been commenced before General Grant took the command. It did not meet his approval, but he thought it advisable that the work upon it should be continued. An immense amount of labor was expended upon it, but before it was completed, it came within the range of the enemy's guns, and work upon it was discontinued. In the mean time, and after this attempt had proved to be abortive, other routes were experimented upon, and other ways were devised for transferring the army to the river below the city, without success. Three months of precious time were lost, and very heavy expenses incurred, in these fruitless experiments. The wit of the best engineers had been exhausted, and yet here was the army in its camps, and there, but a few miles below, was the city, confident of the strength of its position, and scornful of the efforts that were made to prepare the way for a successful movement against it. Meanwhile the people of the North were becoming impatient, and the attempts to make a new channel for the river by cutting canals through swamps densely covered with immense trees, which had to be sawed six feet below the surface, became subjects of ridicule. The experiment was such, said the press, as no sane man would have tried. Grant was sinking the

honor he had won on the Tennessee and Cumberland in ditches on the Mississippi.

General Grant's reputation did indeed seem to be trembling in the balance. He had done little to sustain the reputation he had gained at Donelson. To abandon the attempt to take Vicksburg, after such an expenditure of time and money, would be ruinous to himself and perilous to the Union. Anxious and harassed he was, but not despairing or depressed. He had undertaken to capture Vicksburg and he meant to do it or perish in the attempt. There was one way, and but one, by which it could be accomplished—the gun-boats must run the gauntlet by passing down the river by night, under the guns of the fortifications, and the army must reach the river some distance below the city, by a long, difficult and dangerous march on the western side of the river. The risk would be great. The army might be destroyed; the gunboats might be sunk; but it was a risk that he preferred to incur rather than to acknowledge that the expedition against Vicksburg had disastrously failed. His star, never long obscured after the commencement of the war, was again in the ascendant. The gunboats, with supply boats by their sides, under the direction of Admiral Porter, passed the forts by night with trifling losses. The army reached the river below the city, and was carried safely across it. The Confederates having most unwisely divided their forces, were beaten in several sharp engagements, and the city was invested. The siege was commenced on the 18th of May, and the garrison and city surrendered on the 4th of July, with 27,000 troops. The expedition was managed throughout with great ability. The night before it was determined upon, General Grant asked the opinion of the other generals. They were all opposed to such a movement. The march through a country partially inundated would be an extremely difficult one, and when accomplished, the army would be removed from its base of supplies, and where defeat would be annihilation. He listened atten-

tively to all that was said, and then simply remarked: "I am sorry to differ with you gentlemen upon a matter of so much importance, but my mind is made up. The army will move to-morrow morning." And it did.

In this expedition Grant was at his best. Sensible of the great responsibility that rested upon him, he tempered his daring with caution. He kept his forces well in hand after he crossed the river, and he outgeneraled his opponents in every attempt they made to prevent his approach to the city. It was the most brilliant achievement of the war. Port Hudson was abandoned soon after the fall of Vicksburg, and the Mississippi, undisturbed by enemies of the Union, was again open to trade, from its head to the Gulf. This great river had always been the main outlet for the surplus productions of the immense regions which it drained. For two years it had been closed, to the great prejudice of the pecuniary interests of millions of loyal men. Its opening was a matter of great importance, not only to the people of the West, but to all the loyal States. Besides being a very great gain in respect to commercial operations, it was, by separating Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas from the other Confederate States, a great gain to the Government in a military point of view.

The capture of Vicksburg placed Grant at the head of the Union generals. It is true that the success of the campaign in the rear of the city was, in a measure, owing to the dissension among the Confederate commanders, but this did not lessen his merit. It was by his persistent energy that what seemed to be almost insuperable difficulties were overcome in gaining for his army a position that rendered the capture of the city possible. It was by his skilful management of his troops, after that position had been secured, that the grand result was accomplished. For his great services in this expedition, he was made a major-general in the regular army, and from this time to the close of the war, his name, next to Lincoln's, was the most conspicuous and the most honored throughout

the loyal States. His success in this expedition had a decided influence and bearing upon his subsequent career and his self-estimation. From being one of the most obscure of the West Point graduates, he had become the most prominent and distinguished, and the change had been so great, that the idea became dominant with him that he was the "man of destiny," —that there was no difficulty which he could not surmount, no position in the army or the State that he was not competent to fill. Self-confidence (a most excellent quality when not accompanied by self-deception), thenceforward became one of the most marked traits in his character.

Although a heavy blow was dealt to the Confederates by the capture of Vicksburg, and their loss of the control of the Mississippi, they were not disheartened. On the contrary, their ardor and resolution seemed to be increased and strengthened by these reverses. They had not, in the West, received a really crushing blow, nor did they receive that blow until it was administered by General Thomas at Nashville, in 1864. Their best efforts were put forth, and their best fighting was done, in the latter part of 1863. They achieved a decided victory at Chickamauga, and reduced the Union forces to dire distress by shutting them up in Chattanooga. Horses and mules in large numbers were starved to death, and the soldiers were on the verge of sharing the same fate before they were relieved. The battle of Chickamauga was one of the bloodiest and most desperately fought battles of the war. In this battle the Union forces were not greatly outnumbered; but by the misunderstanding of dispatches of the commander, General Rosecrans, and the failure of some of the officers promptly to obey the orders which they received, there was a lack of concentration which enabled the Confederates to overwhelm and put to rout all of the divisions except that under General Thomas, which repelled the combined attacks that were made upon it and saved the entire army from being utterly routed. Soon after this disaster the Departments of

the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee were consolidated into the Military Division of the Mississippi, and placed under the command of General Grant. By the same order that created this division, General William S. Rosecrans was relieved of his command.

There was much dissatisfaction in the army, and a strong feeling of regret, not to say indignation, throughout the West at the retirement of General Rosecrans. He had never been a favorite of the Secretary of War, and he was greatly disliked by General Grant. In temperament, in manners, in habits, in the general make-up of their characters, the two generals were totally unlike. The very qualities that made Rosecrans popular with his soldiers, and with the Western people, made him obnoxious to Grant. It was quite impossible for them, therefore, to work harmoniously together, and Rosecrans was forced into retirement. As has been said, it provoked a good deal of feeling in the West adverse to the War Department and to General Grant. Rosecrans was a Democrat, the brother of a Catholic bishop, and his entrance into the army at the outbreak of the rebellion, as volunteer aid to General McClellan, was considered a great gain to the Union cause. He was a native of Ohio, a graduate of West Point, and for three years was professor of engineering and natural philosophy in that institution. He resigned his commission in the army in 1854 to become a civil engineer at Cincinnati, and was engaged in that and other employment in that city until he joined General McClellan in West Virginia. A harder worker or more zealous patriot never fought under the Union flag. His merits were acknowledged by preferment until he was subjected to the superior influence of General Grant. His military ability was proven by the masterly manner in which he conducted the campaigns when he was in command of the Department of the Mississippi and the Cumberland, and especially was it proven in the battles of Stone River and at Corinth. He was beaten at Chickamauga, but

there was no mismanagement in that battle on his part. The only mistake which he made was in giving credence to the reports which were brought to him that the whole army was defeated and in full retreat to Chattanooga, while Thomas was holding his position against the tremendous assault to which he was exposed. If, instead of going to Chattanooga to make preparations for the reception of his retreating and exhausted troops, he had gone to the front, it is possible that he might have gathered together the broken forces as Grant did at Donelson, and won a victory instead of suffering a defeat. He deserved a victory, for no man ever worked harder to obtain it. The fates were against him, and the manner in which they sometimes deal with the fortunes of men is shown in the simple fact that the nomination of this gallant and most accomplished soldier for the humble office of Register of the Treasury in 1886 hung fire for weeks in the Senate of the United States.

After the sorely needed supplies had been obtained by the execution of plans that were devised by General Rosecrans, the army, now under General Grant, had the desired opportunity of redeeming the credit which had been somewhat impaired by the disaster at Chickamauga. The battles at Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge, which soon followed, were in fact one continuous struggle, in which at different points different divisions of the army were engaged, and in which there seemed to be a rivalry, not only between the commanders of the divisions but among the soldiers, for the highest honors. The Confederates, strong in numbers and strongly intrenched on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, were routed at every point with immense losses in war materials and men. In no other battles was superior bravery displayed or so much independent fighting done by the Union soldiers. The plans of General Grant were frequently changed during the fight, and in some instances they were disregarded both by officers and men. It was in this battle that Hooker

won renown in his attack upon the enemy in their position above the clouds. It was in this battle that the soldiers under Thomas and Sheridan, without orders, or in disregard of them, exposed to a terrific fire, with shouts for the Union, overcoming all obstructions, climbed the mountain sides and drove the Confederates from their intrenchments. To General Grant, commander-in-chief, was lasting honor due for the splendid success of the Union army in these sanguinary battles; but no less honor was due to the division and brigade commanders, whose conduct in the attack upon the enemy's strongholds was superb. Nor were the soldiers less meritorious than their commanders. Never was the spirit and daring of the common soldiers so grandly displayed. "By whose orders are those troops going up the hill?" asked General Grant of General Thomas. "By their own, I suppose," was the reply. "It's all right, if it turns out right; but some one will suffer if it don't," was Grant's rejoinder. It did turn out right. These gallant fellows, full of ardor, and brave to a fault, had assumed authority, and were not long in capturing the positions which were only to be threatened. It is hardly necessary to say that their conduct was not investigated, nor were they censured for disobedience.

The year 1863, on the whole, closed favorably to the Government. There had been some serious backsets in the East, but compensation for these was found in the very important victory at Gettysburg. In the West, Vicksburg had been taken; the Mississippi had been opened; the disaster at Chickamauga had been obliterated by the rout of the enemy at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.

In March, 1864, Congress came to the wise conclusion, which ought to have been reached long before, that the war should no longer be carried on by division commanders, under instructions from the War Department, and passed an act reviving the grade of lieutenant-general. For this position, Grant was nominated, and the nomination was

promptly confirmed. By this act, all the national armies, numbering nearly a million of men, were placed under the direction of a single head. The appointment of General Grant to this high position was approved by the country. At that time he was regarded by the people, as well as by Congress, as being the most efficient and meritorious of the generals. If doubts existed in regard to his generalship, of his fighting qualities there could be no dispute. He had won renown at Donelson and Vicksburg, and had never suffered a defeat. He was not popular with the army; he had no hold upon the affections of the soldiers; but with the people he was a favorite. The high qualities of Sherman and Thomas were not then fully appreciated. Sherman had not captured Atlanta, nor made his march to the sea. Thomas had not crushed the Confederates at Nashville. There was, therefore, no competition with General Grant for the honor which was conferred upon him.

In the spring of 1864 the Union armies were in their very best condition. The generals in active service were, with very rare exceptions, men of marked ability, whose valor and skill had been tested on the battle-field, and the larger part of the soldiers had become veterans. The Union forces were also better provided for, and were numerically stronger than ever before. The duties of the lieutenant-general, outside of the Army of the Potomac, of which he took personal command, were consequently altogether less trying than they would have been if the appointment had been made when McClellan was relieved of his command as general-in-chief. In fact, after a few general and special orders were given to division commanders, at various points, the lieutenant-general was able to give, and did give, his entire attention to the Army of the Potomac.

It is not the opinion of men who have made military science a study, nor will it, I think, appear by impartial history, that General Grant added to his military renown by his cam-

paign against Richmond. With the best disciplined and most thoroughly equipped army that was ever organized in this country, or any other; with ample reinforcements at his command; supported by the favor and confidence of the Government, he commenced his celebrated march by the direct route to Richmond. His aim was, by celerity of movement, to place his army between that of the Confederates and the Confederate capital. This accomplished, he would have little difficulty in destroying the former and capturing the latter. This aim was thwarted by General Lee, the Confederate commander, who met him in front and compelled him to fight at great disadvantage the battles of the Wilderness, in which no generalship could be displayed, and which will long be remembered for the bravery of the troops on both sides, and the losses that were sustained. A United States Senator who visited the Wilderness at the close of the two days' battle, said to me on his return to Washington: "If that scene could have been presented to me before the war had been commenced, anxious as I was for the preservation of the Union, I should have said, 'The cost is too great; erring sisters, go in peace.'" Failing in this attempt to intercept the Confederates, General Grant attempted to accomplish his object by a left flank movement to Spottsylvania, but here was Lee again, and behind formidable intrenchments, from which he was only forced after many days of continuous and what has been described as simply murderous fighting.

It was after this battle that General Grant sent his celebrated dispatch to Washington, that he intended "to fight it out on that line, if it took all summer." The loyal people, in the pursuit of business or pleasure, were delighted with this dispatch. It reminded them of the reply to Buckner at Fort Donelson. "That's Grant," said one who read it in my hearing. "That's Grant; that means business." Business it was, but unfortunately it was business (glorious as it seemed to those who read the accounts of it in the newspapers) in which

the Union forces were the heaviest losers; business which sent sorrow into many thousands of loyal households, which filled cemeteries with the slain, and hospitals with the wounded. More, and if possible still harder, work was to be done on that line, but the object of the campaign—the capture of Richmond—was not thus to be accomplished. Grant was met again at North Anna, and again at Cold Harbor, from which he was repelled with tremendous slaughter. Cold Harbor was a very important point in General Grant's plan of the campaign, but the fortifications having proved impregnable, he did what McClellan had been compelled to do—he transferred his army to the James. He did not, however, stop there. Undisturbed by orders from Washington, and with ample resources at his command, he crossed the river and immediately put in operation the instructions he had given to General Butler, who was in command of the army upon the James, to capture and hold Petersburg, and then to advance against Richmond. The fortifications around these two cities proved, however, to be too strong to be carried, and a siege was commenced which continued for nearly a year, and was terminated by an assault upon the attenuated line of Confederate intrenchments, which was memorable for the courage with which it was made and the resolution with which it was resisted. The line of defence having been broken, Richmond, the long-coveted prize, was abandoned by the Confederate forces, and the Stars and Stripes again floated, as of yore, over the capital. A few days after, the war was practically ended by the surrender of General Lee and the remnant of his army at Appomattox Court House.

In the battles in the Wilderness, at Spottsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor, and about Richmond and Petersburg, the losses on the Confederate side were heavy; on the Union side enormous, amounting in killed and wounded to nearly sixty thousand men—a larger number than Lee had under his command at the opening of the campaign. In these battles General Grant displayed the qualities for which he was distinguished

in the West—confidence in himself and in his army, indifference to danger, and indifference also to his own losses while he was striking telling blows against the enemy. On the other side, it must be admitted that General Lee proved himself to be a very able and vigilant commander. He anticipated every movement of his opponent, and was prepared to meet him at every point which he intended to occupy on his march, and finally compelled him to leave the direct route and to commence what was practically a new campaign, by the siege of Richmond and Petersburg. In all the battles that were fought from the first day in the Wilderness to the day on which they were shattered in their desperate assaults upon the intrenchments at Cold Harbor, the Union forces outnumbered the Confederates in the ratio of two to one. In the operations on the south of Richmond and about Petersburg, the comparative difference was still greater. But the lack of numbers by the Confederates was made up by their being on the defensive, and in possession of very formidable intrenchments, which could not be successfully attacked except by superior numbers and at a heavy loss by the assailants. The Union soldiers never fought better than they did in the desperate battles which have been named, and the most of them had proved their valor on many well-contested fields. They fought under the eye of a chief whom they knew only by his fame, but under the eyes, also, of division commanders whom they knew personally and trusted, and whose good opinion they were resolved not to lose. They behaved splendidly throughout the campaign. They were patient, obedient, brave. There was no hardship that they did not willingly submit to, no danger that they shrank from. They were the glorious Army of the Potomac, which, although rarely victorious, was never excelled in discipline and steadfast valor by any army in the world.

The adoption of the direct route to Richmond was, to say the least that can be said about it, unfortunate, as the entire

army could have been transferred from the Potomac to the James, to which it turned after the battle of Cold Harbor, without the loss of a man, and with the saving of millions of dollars to the national treasury. It would not have been adopted but for the prevailing opinion that the safety of Washington depended upon the army being kept between it and Richmond. Some consolation, however, for the national losses was found in the losses of the enemy, which, although they did not probably exceed twenty thousand, told most heavily upon their declining strength.

Some of General Grant's eulogists have expressed the opinion that as his mode of conducting the war was to exhaust the resources of the Confederates as rapidly as was possible, without the slightest regard to the losses that he might sustain himself, to attack them at all times, and at all vulnerable points; that as he could afford to sacrifice two men to their one, and that as constant fighting must, sooner or later, bring the war to a close, he was satisfied with the results of these sanguinary battles. That this method of carrying on the war against the Confederacy was approved by General Grant is well known, but that he was satisfied with the result of his direct movement toward Richmond is, I think, questionable. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the Union was not saved by the victories of its armies, but by the exhaustion of its enemies. Extensive as was the field of military operations, and costly as these operations were, the loyal States were not apparently weakened by them. The demand which the war created for everything needed for the support of large armies, and the construction of fleets for naval operations upon the coast and rivers, gave great activity to various branches of mechanical and manufacturing industry. Money, or what practically represented it, was abundant. The credit of the Government improved as the war progressed, and was higher in 1864 than it was in 1861. A stranger in travelling through the loyal States in 1864 would have seen little to indicate that they were

engaged in a civil war of unexampled magnitude. He would have seen men pursuing their usual avocations with ardor; the farmer and mechanic busily employed; new factories being built; the marts crowded with buyers and sellers; and upon inquiry he would have learned that the foreign and domestic trade, and manufacturing in its various branches, had never been so prosperous, and that labor had never been so well rewarded. In the disloyal States the reverse of all this was exhibited. They had been, from the commencement of the war, substantially shut up from the outside world. The belligerent rights which had been accorded to them had not been followed by the expected acknowledgment of independence by Great Britain, or by any other European power, and were therefore of little value to them. Trade with Europe could only be carried on by running the blockade, in which the risk was greater than the profits. Their cotton, in exchange for which they expected to receive all necessary supplies, remained either upon the plantations or was stored in the warehouses of the cities. Manufacturing they had not encouraged before the war, and although their necessities developed skill in this direction that was a surprise even to themselves, they were unable to do more than to supply their armies with munitions and clothing. The credit of the government which they had undertaken to establish was at the lowest ebb, at home as well as abroad. Its bonds, which in 1861 were sold in Great Britain at nearly par, and were then regarded by European capitalists with more favor than the bonds of the United States, were no longer salable at any price. Its notes, which were kept in circulation by being made a legal tender, and the absence of any other circulating medium, had become even in trade well nigh valueless. What little real money there was in the Confederacy was either hidden or in the Confederate treasury. The exhausting process, which commenced soon after the war begun, had gone steadily on until there was little left in the disloyal States except the

buildings and the naked lands. Everything had been yielded by the people to the support of their armies, with unexampled self-sacrificing devotion.

In connection with this brief reference to General Grant's campaign against Richmond, is not this question a pertinent and fair one? If General Grant, with an army of vastly superior strength to that of the enemy, could gain no decided advantages in the bloody battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, North Anna, and Cold Harbor, but on the whole was so worsted by them as to be compelled to transfer his army to the James, and was nevertheless honored, and justly honored, by his countrymen, ought General McClellan, who met the same enemy when in its greatest vigor and strength, and inflicted upon him severer blows than he received, in as well contested battles as those that have been named, and was compelled by the superior force of the enemy to fall back upon the same river, to have been retired in disgrace? Was General Grant's generalship so superior to that of General McClellan's; did he handle his troops with so much greater skill; was he so much more prompt in action and sound in judgment, as to make it clear that while he received no honor that he had not fairly won, McClellan was treated with no injustice?

I have said that it was not the opinion of competent judges that General Grant added to his military reputation by his overland campaign against Richmond. Notwithstanding the great superiority of his forces in numbers, he gained no decided advantages over General Lee. His aim was to intercept and destroy the Confederate army, and then to capture the Confederate capital. He succeeded in neither. That army was not destroyed. On the contrary, it dealt harder blows than it received, and Richmond was only taken after a protracted siege. The conduct of General Grant at the surrender of General Lee, and of the remnant of his once formidable army, was that of a true soldier and a gentleman, but there was nothing in what occurred at Appomattox which added to

his renown as a commander. The fall of Richmond, which was hastened by the approach of Sherman from the south, was, from the commencement of the siege of Petersburg, only a question of time, and what was left of the Army of Northern Virginia was doomed as soon as it was forced from the fortifications which it had held with so much courage and tenacity.

In this great civil war, there was little opportunity for the exhibition of military science as this science is understood in Europe. By some European generals it was spoken of contemptuously as a bushwhacking war, in which fighting qualities only were displayed, and a great deal of blood was unnecessarily shed. It is true that few of the battles in this war were fought where the talents of a Von Moltke would have shown to advantage, but there were battles in which very great ability was displayed—not in handling large armies upon open plains, but in adapting warfare to the topography and conditions of the country. Von Moltke's science might have been at fault in the Peninsula and in the Wilderness. Grant might not have obtained celebrity at Sadowa, or Sedan. But if, as European critics have asserted, there was very little science exhibited in our civil war, there never was a war in which the best qualities of soldiers—courage, patience, endurance—were so conspicuous on both sides. And here it is fitting for me to say, that if General Grant has not received more credit than was his due, other generals have received less than was due to them. A stranger to the history of the war, in reading the newspapers that were published at the time of General Grant's death, and in noticing the respect that is paid to his memory, would think that to him more than to all the other generals was the success of the Union armies to be attributed, and he would be surprised if he were informed, that in the great and most important battles of Antietam, Gettysburg, Atlanta and Nashville he had no part; that his real and lasting honors were won before he was appointed to the chief command and led

the Army of the Potomac against Richmond; that besides those whom I especially speak of, there were officers in the Union service who, like A. H. Terry, and Meade, and Schofield, and Canby, and Howard, and Slocum, were scarcely his inferiors in military capacity. I do not exaggerate when I say that Napoleon, who startled the world by his brilliant achievements, had not under his command, when nearly all Europe was at his feet, lieutenants of higher accomplishments as soldiers than C. F. Smith, and McPherson, and Reynolds, and Sedgwick, and W. H. Wallace, and Couch, and Curtis, and Custer, and Humphreys, and Gilmore, and Sickles, and Kearny, and Reno, and Lytle, and Doubleday, and Cox, and Lewis Wallace, and Stoneman, and Hayes, and Gresham, and Ricketts, and Granger, and Wood, and Palmer, and Steadman, and Geary, and Mitchel, and Wadsworth and Sedgwick, and Sumner, and scores of others, of the same stamp, whose names are imperishably inscribed on the rolls of their country's honor. Many of them sealed with their blood their devotion to the Union. Their names will always be especially dear to their countrymen. Not to Grant alone, but to such as these, and to the hundreds of thousands of men—officers and privates, who imperilled their lives in its support—is the nation indebted for its integrity. On the other side, also, were men who, in an unholy cause, displayed ability, heroism, devotion, zeal which commanded universal admiration. It was a long, expensive and bloody war, but its compensations have been greater than was its cost. It destroyed slavery and thus uprooted all causes of difference between the sections. It cemented the Union. It made the States "now and forever, one and inseparable."

It was fortunate for the country, and for his own reputation, that General Grant was not in command of the Army of the Potomac in 1861. Having no aptitude for the organization of troops, he would have spent little time in making it what it became under McClellan, the best disciplined, and for its numbers, the most efficient army of the age. If he had

been in McClellan's place in the autumn of 1861, the reports would not have been, as they were for months, that "all was quiet on the Potomac," but probably a report of a much less satisfactory character, that a great battle had been fought and a worse disaster than that of Bull Run had befallen the Union forces. It was also fortunate for the country and General Grant that he did not take the command of that army, highly disciplined as it had become, until he had secured by his services in the West the confidence of all loyal people and of the Government,—a confidence so strong as not to be shaken by the unsuccess of his great battles in Virginia and of the assaults upon the fortifications of Petersburg and Richmond, nor even by the delays of a protracted siege. Fortunate indeed was it for General Grant that he was not then a candidate for the Presidency, and was supposed to have no political aspirations.

There have been and there will continue to be great differences of opinions in regard to General Grant's character and merits as a soldier. While many, and perhaps a majority, regard him as having been a great military genius, whose name will go down in history along with the names of the most renowned soldiers of modern times, others regard him as having been destitute of genius, entitled to no credit except for stubborn courage and unyielding resolution; as one whose rise was a chapter of accidents and luck. Neither of these opinions is correct. It was not by accident or luck that Donelson was taken; that the Mississippi was opened by the capture of Vicksburg, and that the misfortunes at Chickamauga were offset by the achievements at Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. It was not by luck that he rose from the captaincy of a company in 1861 to the command of all the armies of the United States in 1864. Accidents were in his favor, and lucky he certainly was; but if he had not possessed military qualities of a high order, accidents would not have been favorable to him, and good luck would not have

been so constantly his attendant. His rise was rapid, and with but a single interruption. For some weeks after the capture of Donelson he seemed to have reached the height of his military career, but after his success at Vicksburg his star was again in the ascendant, and it continued to shine with undiminished if not increasing brightness to the end of the war.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that he did not accomplish enough, nor give evidence of possessing all the qualities which were necessary to entitle him to a place by the side of the great captains of the world. If he had capacity for planning campaigns, he lacked the opportunities for exhibiting it. Before the expedition in which Fort Henry and Fort Donelson were captured and the line of Confederate fortifications was broken, was commenced, the importance of such an expedition had been freely discussed. The successful movement against Vicksburg was not undertaken until all other plans for reaching the city had failed. The battles on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge were not fought according to any well-digested plan.

But while General Grant's abilities were not in the line of organizing troops or planning campaigns, it cannot be denied that in all the battles of which he had the direction, he displayed indomitable resolution, perfect self-possession, dauntless courage. His conduct at Donelson and before Vicksburg, where he obtained his highest renown, was such as to entitle him to very high rank as a soldier; but in neither of these fields was there, or could there be, a display of such ability as would sustain the claims of his extreme eulogists. His qualities were such as circumstances required. There was no sentiment in his mode of warfare. He was never seen on the field after a battle had been fought, or in the hospitals, and he never counted the cost of a victory. His business was to fight. To persistently push the enemy at all points, and at all sacrifices, was, in his opinion, the surest as well as speediest way of terminating the war. It was, he thought, his duty to cripple

him in every possible way. He was opposed, therefore, for a time, to the exchange of prisoners, knowing as he did, that owing to the difference of treatment in Northern and Southern prisons, he would be receiving men who were not fit for duty in exchange for those that were, and that the Government which he served had far less need of men than its enemies. This was considered by many as inhuman; but war is a business in which humanity is not often brought into lively exercise. He understood both the duties and responsibilities of a commander, and while insensible to fear, he never exposed himself unnecessarily to danger. He lacked personal magnetism. His presence among his troops was never hailed with enthusiastic shouts as was McClellan's. He never breasted the storm of battle, as did Thomas at Chickamauga. He never personally rallied fleeing troops, and led them back to victory, as Sheridan did at Cedar Creek. His soldiers were not strongly attached to him, but they had confidence in his generalship, and they admired him for his coolness and courage. As I have said, he did not accomplish enough, nor exhibit all the qualities which were required to entitle him to a place by the side of the great captains of the world. What his rank is to be hereafter, among the distinguished generals of his own country, cannot be safely predicted. It certainly will be among the highest. His name may not be second to any in the long line of American soldiers; but that it will be regarded by impartial historians as entitled to the pre-eminence that is now so generally accorded to it, is at least doubtful. He gained nothing in reputation after he became lieutenant-general. Sherman expressed the opinion that if General C. F. Smith had lived, Grant might not have been heard of after Donelson. He would not have been wide of the mark if he had said that but for Donelson and Vicksburg, Grant would not have been known in history. But Smith did not live to throw Grant into the background, and Donelson and Vicksburg are fixed facts in the annals of the war.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Condition of the two great Parties in 1868—Horatio Seymour Nominated for the Presidency, and General Frank P. Blair for the Vice-Presidency, by the Democrats—General Grant and Schuyler Colfax nominated by the Republicans, and Elected—General Grant nominated on account of his Military Reputation—His Nominations for the Heads of the Departments —Elihu B. Washburne—George S. Boutwell—Jacob D. Cox—John A. G. Creswell—E. Rockwood Hoar—Alexander T. Stewart—Adolph E. Borie—Hamilton Fish—George M. Robeson—William W. Belknap—Morrison R. Waite—Negotiation for the Annexation of St. Domingo—Mr. Sumner's Opposition to it—Mr. Motley Recalled from the Court of St. James—Change in the Office of Attorney-General—General Grant as a Civilian—Manner in which he Used his Authority—Appointment of his Son to be a Lieutenant-Colonel; and a Distinguished Clergyman to be Examiner of Consular Offices—His Retirement from the Presidency—Desire of a Nomination for a Third Term—He Visits Europe—Is everywhere received with Great Respect—Efforts to Nominate him for a Third Term on his Return from Europe—His Unfortunate Connection with a Banking Firm—His Fatal Illness and Death.

IN 1868, as the two great political parties were supposed to be of about equal strength, the leading politicians on both sides were on the alert for a candidate who possessed the greatest personal popularity; availability, rather than qualification or merit, being the question to be considered. Johnson's administration had been conducted in the interests of neither party. It had for two years been bitterly opposed by the Republican party, although the Cabinet was composed of men who were either Republicans, or Democrats who had not been in sympathy with their party during the war. It had not been cordially supported by the Democrats. Johnson having been elected Vice-President on the Republican ticket with Mr. Lincoln, and an ardent supporter of his administration, could not be regarded as a representative of Democratic principles. He had made few changes in the public offices,

and a large majority of the office-holders were earnest and active Republicans. The Democrats had stood by him in his impeachment. They had approved of his Reconstruction policy, but they knew that he had lost by his intemperate harangues the public respect which he commanded when he was elected Vice-President. It was quite certain, long before the convention was held that he would not be their candidate. Singularly enough, the eyes of both parties turned to General Grant as the most available candidate, and the opinion was current in Washington that if he was not nominated by the Republicans, he would be by the Democrats. Before the war, General Grant (as was true of most of the West Point graduates who had been appointed under Democratic administrations) was a Democrat, and it was known that his relatives and some of his most intimate associates in the army were members of the Democratic party. It was therefore thought that he might be willing to accept a Democratic nomination. This question, however, was not tested. Before he was approached by any of the leading men of that party, it became known that he was in sympathy with the Republicans, and that he would accept a Republican nomination if it were tendered to him. The Democrats were, therefore, compelled to select another man for their standard bearer. The choice fell upon Horatio Seymour, one of the ablest and purest of statesmen. General Frank P. Blair was their nominee for Vice-President. The ticket was apparently a strong one. Seymour had been Governor of New York, and although he was full of anxious misgivings during the war, he had not been backward in filling the requisitions which were made upon him for troops. He was sound, according to Democratic standards, upon all economical and financial questions; a man of varied and extensive knowledge, of an unblemished reputation, of great personal popularity, of superior executive ability. No man in the country was better equipped for the Presidency than Horatio Seymour. General Blair was a man of vigorous

intellect and of great force of character. He had done good service in the war, and although a Democrat of the strictest order, he had been hostile to slavery when the pro-slavery sentiment was strong throughout the Union. The ticket was strong, but it was greatly weakened by the speeches that were made at the convention. General Grant and Schuyler Colfax, who had acquired a high reputation as Speaker of the House, the nominees of the Republican party, were triumphantly elected.

It is not claimed by many of his real friends that General Grant sustained, in the Presidency, the reputation that he had won in the field. Before his election he had lacked both the opportunities and the disposition to acquaint himself with the subjects upon which he was called to act in the discharge of his executive duties. He had not only kept himself aloof from politics, but he had paid no attention to the subjects in which the country was especially interested. He had never held a public position in civil life. He was selected by the Republicans as their candidate, as General Taylor had been by the Whigs, on account of his military reputation; and yet such was his self-confidence, that he had no more distrust of his ability to perform the duties of the chief magistrate of the nation than of his ability to command a regiment. "Have you read," asked one of the ablest of the Republican Senators the next morning after the inauguration, "have you read General Grant's inaugural?" "I have," I replied. "The responsibilities of the position I feel, but I accept them without fear." The senator repeated this passage from the inaugural slowly, and then said: "You know, McCulloch, that I am not a religious man, but if I had been elected President, I should not have accepted the responsibilities without fear. I should on my knees have asked God to help me." He then, in language which I will not repeat, expressed something more than his regret that one who had no comprehension of the duties he was to perform should accept the responsibilities thereof with such self confidence.

That General Grant was self-deceived in regard to his fitness for the Presidency was soon manifest to others, but there was at no time any indication that he was conscious of it himself. His self-reliance, and his indisposition to take advice or ask for information, were indicated in the selection of his Cabinet. For some days before the inauguration there was a good deal of speculation and talk about the appointments, and no little solicitude was felt by the friends of those whose names had been mentioned in connection with the different departments. I must have seen a score of what were called "slates," prepared by as many different persons, who were considered good political guessers, on which were the names of those who were considered most likely to become the advisers of the President, and a good deal of surprise and disappointment was manifested when the names of the appointees were given to the public. For the War Department, no appointment was made. It was therefore expected that General Schofield, who held the place under an appointment of President Johnson, would be retained. To the other six Departments men were appointed not one of whose names was upon any slate; nor, if I recollect correctly, had the name of either been suggested for a place in the Cabinet by any leading journal. If, in making the selection, the President consulted anybody, the secret was well kept. He could not have consulted any one who was familiar with the act establishing the Treasury Department, or he would not have selected a merchant for its Secretary. To five of the appointments, unexpected as they were, no objection could be made, except upon the ground that they had not been especially active in the canvass preceding the election.

Elihu B. Washburne, who was nominated for Secretary of State, was well known as an able and industrious man who had faithfully represented the Galena district of Illinois in Congress for eight consecutive terms, and been re-elected for the ninth. He had the honor of being the discoverer of Grant

when educated officers were in demand for the army in the spring of 1861. Alexander T. Stewart, the great merchant of New York, a man of extraordinary business capacity, was nominated for Secretary of the Treasury, a position for which he had high personal qualifications, but for which he was disqualified by the act referred to, which provided that no person should be appointed Secretary of the Treasury who was engaged in commercial trade. Mr. Stewart was very desirous of adding to his reputation as a merchant the reputation of a great public financier, which he was confident he might acquire as the head of the Treasury Department; and he, as well as the President, was greatly disappointed by his legal disqualification, which was not discovered (strange as it seemed), until after his name had been sent to the Senate. So strong was the desire of the President that Mr. Stewart should be his Secretary of the Treasury, that he asked Congress to pass a joint resolution to exempt his appointment from the operation of the act. The request did not meet with a favorable reception. Mr. Stewart's name was withdrawn, and George S. Boutwell, a lawyer of good standing and an active and skilful politician, was nominated in his stead.

Mr. Boutwell, on entering upon the discharge of his duties as Secretary of the Treasury, was greatly helped by the knowledge of the business of the Department which he had gained when he was Commissioner of Internal Revenue. His appointment was not favorably regarded by business men, as he was known to be a strong partisan, and was supposed to be narrow in his financial views, and limited in financial knowledge; but his administration of the Treasury was conservative and judicious, creditable to himself and to the Administration. Meeting him on the street the day after he entered upon the discharge of his duties, I said to him that he would find the Department in good running order; that all the real hard work necessitated by the war had been completed, and that his duties would be much less trying and laborious than mine had

been. Always a partisan, Mr. Boutwell was bitterly hostile to President Johnson. He had been one of the managers in the Impeachment trial, and so strong in his opinion were the evidences of Johnson's utter unworthiness and guilt, that he had little charity for those who did not regard them as he did. To him it seemed hardly possible that the confidential advisers of him whom he had denounced as the great criminal could be absolutely free from taint. He did not, I think, expect to find that the management of the Department had been corrupt, but he did expect to discover irregularities in the manner in which its business had been conducted, and that there had been gross favoritism in appointments. He was, I am sure (being, in spite of his prejudices, a high-toned gentleman), gratified, as he ascertained from day to day that the Department had been honestly administered; that its business had been conducted, not in the interest of the President or of his friends, but with regard to public interests only. There were, of course, among the clerks some who were known to be the personal and political friends of Mr. Johnson. To them leave of absence was promptly given. It was said that committees were appointed to ascertain the politics of all the employés, and to report for dismissal those who had the smell of Johnson upon their garments. I am sure that no such committees were appointed by Mr. Boutwell.

Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, who had served with honor in the army and been Governor of his State, a man of very vigorous intellect and unsullied reputation, was nominated for Secretary of the Interior; John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, a stanch unwavering supporter of the Government during the war, and one of the most accomplished men of the day, for Postmaster General; E. Rockwood Hoar, a true scion of excellent stock, who had been a Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, and who held high rank as a lawyer in a State where high rank at the bar can be obtained only by men of superior abilities, for Attorney General.

There was a good deal of astonishment at the nomination of Adolph E. Borie to be Secretary of the Navy. When it was understood that his name had been sent to the Senate, the inquiry everywhere was, "Who is Adolph E. Borie?" Outside of Philadelphia, where he lived, he was unknown, and there he was known only as a citizen of wealth and good social standing. It was reported that only one senator had ever heard of him until his name was read by the secretary. To himself his appointment was as great a surprise as it was to the public. The place was undesired by him. He had no aptitude for the business he was called upon to perform, and he was glad to retire from public life after an experience, if such it could be called, of three months.

There had been some surprise at the appointment of Mr. Washburne as Secretary of State. It was not a position for which he was especially fitted by education or taste, but no one was prepared to hear of his resignation before he had tried it. There was, therefore, much wonder when, within a week after his appointment, he was nominated and confirmed as Minister to France. No explanation was given of this sudden change, but the supposition was that there had been an understanding between him and the President that he should hold the office of Secretary of State until he could find a place that suited him better, and no longer. Whether such was the case or not, the change, resulting as it did in the appointment of Mr. Hamilton Fish to the State Department, was fortunate for the administration and the country. Mr. Washburne, in his mission to France, proved to be the right man in the right place. He performed his regular duties acceptably to his own government, and to the changing governments of France. He remained at his post in Paris during the siege, and so used the authority and influence of his position as to command the respect and good will of both the French and Germans. Nor did he desert his post, as did the representatives of other nations, during the reign of the Commune. His behavior

throughout that entire period of suffering and disorder in Paris was such as to secure for him a high reputation for courage and for fidelity to his trust.

Hamilton Fish, who succeeded Mr. Washburne as Secretary of State, and whose appointment was as little expected as that of any other member of the Cabinet except that of Mr. Borie, had held many important positions. He had been a Representative in Congress, Governor of New York, and United States Senator; but he had retired from public life, and although but sixty years old, was supposed to have lost both the disposition and ability for active public service. The last time that he had manifested any interest in politics was in 1860, when he took part in the efforts that were made to secure the nomination of Mr. Seward for the Presidency. He was remembered as having been a warm personal and political friend of Henry Clay, but so long ago that he seemed to belong to a past generation—to be politically superannuated. His appointment was therefore a surprise even to his friends. It was, however, one of the best appointments that the President ever made. During his retirement he had not been idle. He had been both student and observer, and he brought to the discharge of his new and important duties large experience, superior culture, and thorough knowledge of the relations of the United States with foreign nations. Difficult questions were to be discussed and settled with Great Britain, growing out of her unfriendly conduct during the war. These questions were discussed by him with marked ability, and settled in a manner highly satisfactory to the United States. It is not too much to say, that in no period of our history was the business of the State Department conducted with more ability and discretion than while Mr. Fish was at its head. His appointment was, in all respects, a fortunate one. His high character for probity and honor was one of the redeeming features of both of General Grant's administrations. His great wealth enabled him to dispense hospitalities with a liberal hand. His unostenta-

tious but polished manner, and the grace, the intelligence and varied accomplishments of his wife, did much to elevate the tone of Washington society.

General Schofield's relations with the President were, I believe, friendly, but he had been a member of Johnson's Cabinet, and he was soon retired from the War Department. His successor, General Rawlins, had no especial qualifications for the place, and had done nothing to merit the appointment. He was in bad health when appointed. He died in the following autumn, and was succeeded by General Belknap, who held, when I was Secretary of the Treasury, an office in the internal revenue service, and had the reputation of being an able man and of good business qualifications. Mr. Borie, Secretary of the Navy, was succeeded by George M. Robeson, of New Jersey, a fine speaker and an able lawyer. Mr. Robeson was the best abused member of the Cabinet, but the abuse to which he was subjected neither soured his temper nor injured his digestion. He was a hard worker, without being apt in business. If, instead of being Secretary of the Navy, he had been Attorney General, he would have won an enviable national reputation. Talented, genial, warm-hearted, he was and is a favorite wherever he is known.

On the whole the President was fortunate in these appointments, and yet among the thoughtful and independent men of his party, there was an impression, not, as was remarked by an unfriendly critic, when his second term was drawing to a close, that "his good appointments had been by accident; his bad ones by design," but that personal considerations, rather than a regard for the public interest, had to a large extent governed his action.

Perhaps no appointment made by President Grant seemed to be more unmerited and injudicious than that of Morrison R. Waite, of Toledo, Ohio, to be Chief-Justice of the United States Supreme Court, upon the death of Chief-Justice Chase. I do not hesitate to say that there were scores of lawyers in

Ohio who would have been regarded by the members of his profession as being as well, if not better, qualified for that exalted position as Mr. Waite. He was little known outside of his State. He had not been ranked among the great lawyers of the country. He had never, I think, appeared before the court over which he was to preside. So little was he known outside of Ohio, that his appointment to be one of the representatives of the United States at the Geneva arbitration was not regarded with public favor. I had known Mr. Waite for many years, and had formed a very high opinion of him, as being a man of a high order of talent, and a safe and able counsellor in his profession; but I was not prepared to hear of his appointment to a position which had never before been held by one who had not acquired a high national reputation as a lawyer. President Grant was wiser in this instance than he knew. Possessing a clear, discriminating, well balanced intellect and great working power, with a character for uprightness and independence which commands the highest respect, it is but simple justice to say of Mr. Waite, that he is most honorably filling the chair that has been occupied by such men as Marshall, and Taney, and Chase. No higher compliment can be paid to him.

One of President Grant's first and most important acts—one that astonished even his most intimate friends—was a negotiation for the annexation of Santo Domingo. The execution by him of a treaty for the acquisition of a foreign country, a part of one of the West India Islands, populated and governed by negroes, and, as it was understood at the time, without the knowledge of the Secretary of State, was one of the strangest, not to say most astounding things that had ever occurred in the history of the country. It illustrated his ideas of the authority of a President, and indicated his ignorance or disregard of the sensitiveness of thoughtful people in regard to the acquisition of foreign territory. The purchase of Louisiana and the annexation of Texas were looked upon with apprehension by

men of liberal views, as well as by strict constructionists; but these were coterminous territories, the possession of which might be considered a geographical necessity, and nothing was done in either case, without free discussion. The same was true in regard to the territorial acquisitions which were the result of the war with Mexico. But here was an island in no way needful to the United States, one-half of which, with a large population of the African race, was to become a part of the public domain with full privileges of citizenship to its inhabitants, by a treaty which was not negotiated in the usual way by the head of the State Department, but by the President, through the agency of one of his private secretaries.

Of the impropriety of the proceeding the President seemed to be unconscious. To secure its ratification, he brought to bear upon the Senate all his personal and official influence, but strong as that influence was, it was not strong enough to overcome the repugnance of senators to a treaty highly objectionable in itself, and equally objectionable by the manner in which it had been negotiated. Charles Sumner was Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and he presented his views in opposition to the treaty with such caustic severity, that he incurred the lasting hostility of the President, by which not only he but some of his friends were made to suffer. The President was unable to obtain a ratification of so unsavory a treaty, but he had influence enough with senators (to their discredit be it said) to bring about the displacement of Mr. Sumner from the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which he had been for years the honored and efficient head. Mr. Motley, the distinguished historian, was recalled from the Court of St. James, not because he was not honorably and efficiently performing his duties, but because he had been appointed on Mr. Sumner's recommendation, and was known to be his intimate friend. The change in the office of Attorney-General, by which Mr. Hoar was succeeded by Mr. Akerman, was attributed to the influence of persons who had favored

the treaty. In opposing the ratification of this treaty, Mr. Sumner, as was his wont, spoke with great plainness. He had, as he thought, good reason for the opinion that in its negotiation the President was under the influence of a company of speculators, who were to be large gainers by the project. In denouncing the project, he denounced the projectors in language which seemed to reflect upon the President. In this he might have been wrong, but it did not justify the action of the Senate in desposing him from the place which he had so long honored. In the estimation of the masses, the President did not, perhaps, suffer by the negotiation of this treaty and his persistent efforts to secure its ratification, nor by his treatment of Mr. Sumner and his friends; these were matters in which the great public felt but little interest; but he did suffer in the estimation of many of the best men of his party, who from that time regarded him with distrust.

I have said that General Grant was no student before the war, and that he lacked the time and the disposition to study afterwards; but he was a close observer, and his natural abilities were expanded by his intercourse with able men, and in the performance of executive duties. His mind was clear and, when not influenced by his prejudices or controlled by his egotism, well balanced. In approving or disapproving acts of Congress, he was rarely wrong. His messages and other official papers were sensible and to the point, but, as is too frequently the case with men of high position, his acts were less praiseworthy than his words. He was upon paper an earnest advocate of reform in the civil service, but there was no improvement in the service during his administrations. On the contrary, there was a degree of official corruption that had never before been witnessed. Scandals of a disgraceful character, which implicated many who had official relations, and some who had close personal relations with himself, were rife. Although a man of great independence of character, there were very few whose ears were more open to flattery. Both

as general and President he was kind and indulgent to those who looked up to him as a superior; he was the reverse to those who did not. He did not object to independence in others, if that independence did not conflict with his own; when it did, there was coldness on his part, if not dislike. His success as a soldier produced an entire change in his character. From the time that he resigned his captaincy, in 1854, to his appointment as colonel, in 1861, he was seemingly content with his low social position and humble employments. If he had any desire to rise, if ambition had any hold upon him, there was no indication of it. Upon his re-entrance into the army, a new life was opened within as well as before him. While his demeanor was little changed, while he was still unassuming in manners, he became as if by a new birth, self-confident, self-reliant, daring, ambitious, and these qualities became so dominant, that after accepting the highest position in the army as a right, he entered upon the performance of the duties of the highest civil position without fear; and, in disregard of the example of Washington and his other predecessors, was more than willing that his name should be used for a third term. He had the disposition, and only needed the opportunity, to become a dictator.

The old adage that the boy is father of the man, was contradicted in the case of General Grant. Nothing in his character as a boy indicated the inherent power which was developed when he became a military leader, and the chief magistrate of the nation. He had no influence over his classmates at West Point, or over his brother officers in Mexico. After his return from Mexico, he lacked self-control; and yet at the head of the army, and in the Presidency, he displayed the characteristics of a man born to command. None of his predecessors, not even General Jackson, used the authority of his position so independently—none certainly exhibited such indifference to established usages and public opinion, as he did. No other President would have been so wanting in delicacy

as to appoint his son, who had performed no important duties, to a lieutenant-colonelcy, over the heads of meritorious officers; or so indifferent to public sentiment and the requirements of the service as to send his eulogist, a distinguished clergyman, without business experience, at a salary of five thousand dollars a year and his expenses, to examine consular offices in Europe. In regard to many important appointments, he did not consult even his Cabinet. When first elected, he was regarded, not only by his party, but by a large majority of the people who were not partisans, with as much favor as any of his predecessors had been, except Washington. If the Press properly represented the public sentiment, none retired from the Presidency with less of public respect. The reasons were obvious. Until he was elected, he had not been connected with public affairs. He had no knowledge of the questions upon which parties were divided. He was no politician. His judgment of character was faulty in the extreme. He was simply a soldier, a man of good common sense and honest intentions, self-reliant, but wanting in sagacity. Open to flattery, and impatient to criticism, he naturally fell under the influence of the most artful and least trustworthy men of his party. His use of the patronage of the Government was such, in some cases, as to create the opinion that public favors were bestowed in consideration of favors which he had personally received. As he had been raised to the highest position in the country without any training, he seemed to think that no preparatory education was needful for the performance of important and difficult duties. Many of his appointments were severely criticised by a friendly press. Some were so objectionable that the Senate was forced to disapprove of them. The public is slow in giving up a favorite, and it was a long time before the conclusion became widespread that the honored soldier was not a trustworthy President.

An effort had been made by some of his ardent personal friends, and the recipients of his favors, to obtain for him a

nomination for a third term, but without success. That he should have favored it, showed very clearly that he was unconscious of the decline of his popularity, although the evidences of it were before him in the losses which his party had sustained in the recent election. He retired from public life under a cloud, but his personal good fortune did not desert him. The hold which his success as a soldier had given him upon the hearts of the people had been shaken by his methods of administering the government; but it was too strong to be uprooted by his mistakes as a civilian. An opportunity only was wanting to show how strong this hold was, and this was presented when he returned from the Old World loaded with honors. In May, 1877, with the intention of going around the world, he took passage in a Philadelphia steamship for Liverpool. He was assured, in advance, of a friendly reception in England. The troublesome questions which had arisen between the two countries during the war had been amicably settled while he was President, and there was a disposition on the part of the English people, to give to one who had held the highest office in the republic, and who had acquired great distinction as a soldier, a hearty welcome, on his own account and as an expression of their respect for the United States, and a return for the kindness with which the Prince of Wales had been treated when he visited this country some years before. Besides, Lucius Fairchild was the United States Consul at Liverpool; Adam Badeau, Consul General at London; and Edwards Pierrepont, our representative at the court, all of whom had been appointed by General Grant and were his warm personal friends. All these circumstances combined to make his reception at Liverpool, London, and other places which he visited in Great Britain, gratifying to him and pleasing to his countrymen at home.

In order, however, that there might be no uncertainty in regard to his reception, Mr. Pierrepont had, in advance, called the attention of Lord Derby, the Minister of Foreign Affairs,

to the subject. He knew that the sympathies of the English nobility in our civil war had been with the South, and that by English army officers General Lee had been considered an abler soldier than General Grant, and he feared that without his intervention ex-President Grant might be treated with as little consideration as ex-Presidents Van Buren and Fillmore had been when they visited England. He had no doubt in regard to the manner in which he would be received by the middle classes and common people, whose sympathies had been with the Government in the civil war, but he had doubts as to the nobility. He therefore had a plain talk with Lord Derby, and obtained from him an assurance that, as an ex-President, General Grant should be received by the British Government with the same respect that was usually shown to ex-sovereigns. This assurance was made good. Great Britain is not only one of the most powerful of nations, but she excels all others in her social influence. An indorsement by her Government is a passport to high consideration everywhere, and to no foreigner had this indorsement been more strongly given than it was to General Grant. Thus indorsed, and with this indorsement backed by his military reputation, he was the recipient of such honors as had never before been paid to any one not of royal lineage, in Germany, in Russia, in Sweden, in Spain, in Portugal. The European nations seemed to vie with each other in honoring an ex-President of the United States who had commanded armies not inferior to the best of their own. Nor did honors cease to be paid to him when he left Europe. In China, Japan, India, and Siam he was treated with the greatest consideration by their highest officials. Equal honors awaited him on his return to the United States. Not to be outdone by foreigners, the principal cities through which he passed from the Pacific to the Atlantic competed with each other in honoring and welcoming home again one who had been so honored abroad. In Philadelphia, where a year before his presence excited no interest, he was received with an enthu-

siasm never before witnessed in the Quaker City. All business was suspended; the people were seemingly mad with joy.

As General Grant had apparently regained his popularity, a strong but unavailing effort was made to secure his nomination for the Presidency. It was known that he would not be an unwilling candidate, and it was thought by his friends that the objection which prevailed against a third term would not be in the way, as Mr. Hayes's administration had intervened. He was strongly supported in the convention by some of the ablest men of the party, but the sentiment against a third term, consecutive or not, was strong, and there was nothing in the recollection of his eight years' administration to weaken it. His defeat in the convention put an end to his political aspirations. He must now remain in private life. He had been greatly honored by his countrymen. His name was known and respected throughout the world, but he was not content. He had moved among the affluent, and had become so accustomed to a free expenditure of money that nothing except the highest political position seemed to him so desirable as wealth. For rich men he had great respect; for poor men, no matter how distinguished they might be by intellectual attainments, he had but little regard. He had felt the crushing influence of poverty for many years, and although his pay as general of the army had been liberal, and before the commencement of his second presidential term the salary of the President had been raised from $25,000 to $50,000 per year, and he had been the recipient of many valuable presents, he was, in comparison with most of his personal friends, poor. The love of money grew with the free use of it by himself, and by his observation of the influence which it commanded. His ambition now was to be rich, and so strong was it, that he was induced to enter into a business for which he had no fitness, and with a man of no repute. His connection with Ward, and the disgraceful failure of the firm—one of the most disgraceful failures that had ever occurred in the United States

—would have irretrievably ruined him in reputation as it did financially, but for the wonderful hold which he had upon the respect of the people for his military service and the current belief in his personal integrity.

It was well known when he was President that his knowledge of men was very imperfect; that he had been frequently imposed upon by those who understood his assailable points; that he had, to no small extent, been influenced in the use of his patronage by political adventurers; but that he should have become the full partner of a speculator about whose character he made no careful inquiry, giving to the firm —the business of which he did not take the trouble to investigate—the credit of his honored name; that he should have supposed that his firm was making money rapidly by government contracts, without reflecting that if the profits were real the Government was being cheated, indicated such a want of prudence, such childlike simplicity, as to amaze even those who best understood his business incapacity, and stagger the faith of those who knew him most intimately. For a time after the failure, although his personal integrity was not generally doubted, great indignation was felt and expressed against him; but after it became known that he had been hopelessly ruined by the failure, and that one of his sons had been ruined also, and that he had offered not only to surrender his private estate, but even to pledge his medals to the creditors of the firm, indignation gave way to regret; and when it was understood that his sorrow and shame over this disreputable failure had aggravated, if it did not produce, a painful and incurable disease of which he was the victim, the deepest sympathy was felt for him, which increased day by day until the end came and the whole nation was in mourning.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Navy—The Blockade the Severest Blow given to the South—Gallantry on Both Sides—Services of the Navy not confined to the Blockade—Battle between the "Monitor" and the "Virginia" the most Important Single Event of the War—Passage of the Union Ships by Forts Jackson and St. Philip—Capture of New Orleans—Battle in Mobile Bay—Gallantry of Farragut—Letter of Captain Theodorus Bailey—The Effect of the War upon our Merchant Marine.

THE navy shares with the army the honor of preserving the national integrity. But for the navy, the rebellion would not have been overcome. It was no small matter to blockade the numerous ports of nearly a thousand miles of sea-coast. They were blockaded, and it was the blockade that isolated the Confederate States, and caused their exhaustion. If the markets of Europe had been open to them for the sale of their cotton and tobacco, and the purchase of supplies for their armies, their subjugation would have been impossible. It was not, as has been said, by defeats in the field, that the Confederates were overcome, but by the exhaustion resulting from their being shut up within their own domain, and compelled to rely upon themselves and their own productions. The best blood of the South—nearly all of its young and middle-aged men—was in its armies. When the war was over, there were few Southern families from which there were not sons or fathers missing; and yet such was the devotion of the people to their cause, that the depleted ranks of their armies, would have been filled, and the war, on their part, have been successfully maintained, if the blockade had not cut off all external sources of supply and bankrupted their treasury. No people under the sun ever displayed such self-sacrificing devotion to the cause for which they fought, as did the people of

the South, in this the greatest of all civil wars. While many of the leaders, controlled by ambitious and selfish considerations, desired the separation of the slave States from the free, because they perceived that Southern influence was comparatively on the wane, and the establishment of an independent government of which they were to be the master spirits, a very large majority of the Southern people believed that State sovereignty, and the rights of property, were not safe under the Government of the United States, and they shed their blood as freely, and submitted to great sacrifices as willingly, in defence of slavery, and what they considered the rights of States, as they would have done if the avowed purpose of the Government at the commencement of the war had been to deprive the South of its constitutional rights and to free the slaves, without compensation to their owners. "As a man thinketh, so he is." The Southern people thought that they were right in their interpretation of the Constitution, that to their States, not to the Federal Government, primary allegiance was due, and it was for their rights, as they understood them, that they fought to the bitter end. In this they were not singular. Little of the fighting that the world has witnessed has been for really justifiable causes, and yet there have been but few wars, foreign or civil, in which to those engaged, their rights or their honor did not seem to be at stake. All have asked the divine blessing upon their arms, and the invocation has been as hearty on the one side as on the other—on the wrong as on the right.

It was not, however, by the blockade alone that the navy rendered service to the government. Without the navy, the Northern sea-ports might not have been safe. Without the navy, New Orleans would not have been brought again under the Union flag. Without the gun-boats, Vicksburg would not have been captured; nor without the gun-boats and the fleet, would the Mississippi have been opened. In this war, with the exception of the contest between the *Monitor* and the *Vir-*

ginia, there was no opportunity for the display of seamanship, and courage in engagements, fleet against fleet, or ship against ship; but by the manner in which the wooden ships and the gun-boats were handled at the various points, especially on the Mississippi, below New Orleans, and at Mobile, ample evidence was afforded that the American captains and seamen were not deficient in the skill and bravery that distinguished their predecessors in the wars between the United States and England. In proof of this it is only necessary to glance at two or three instances in which these qualities were displayed.

The little United States *Monitor*, under the command of John Lorimer Worden, appeared in Hampton Roads just in season to prevent the Confederate iron-clad *Virginia* from completing the work which she had commenced the day before in the destruction of the frigates *Cumberland* and *Congress*. If the *Monitor* had arrived twelve hours later, or if she had been worsted in the first fight between iron-clads, the other frigates, the *St. Louis*, the *Minnesota* and the *Roanoke*, would have shared the fate of the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*. The conversion of the United States frigate *Merrimac*, which had fallen into their possession when Norfolk was abandoned, into an iron-clad was a feat in design and manufacturing skill which was not expected of the Confederates. But for the opportune arrival of the *Monitor* on the 9th of March, 1862, she would not only have given the possession of Hampton Roads to the Confederates, but every Northern sea-port might have been at her mercy. The fight between these two iron-clads was of momentous importance to the United States and the Confederate governments; but its influence was not confined to them—it was felt by every naval power in the world. It made iron and steel substitutes for wood in the construction of ships of war. It rendered valueless fleets upon which countless millions had been expended. It revolutionized naval warfare. In its consequences, it was the most important of all naval battles. In the management of his little craft in this fight with an iron-

clad ship four times as large, Lieutenant (now Admiral) Worden won world-wide renown. The manner in which both of these iron-clads were managed in this, the longest and most interesting of naval duels, commanded the admiration of all naval men.

I have always thought that this battle between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* was the most important single event of the war. If the *Monitor* had been destroyed or captured, the Northern sea-ports would have been at the mercy of the *Virginia*, the blockade would have been raised, the Southern sea-ports would have been opened to the world. All this would have been speedily followed by the recognition of the Confederacy as an independent State by France and England. I never meet Admiral Worden, whom I cannot help admiring for his modesty as well as for his gallantry and intelligence, without feeling that but for him and the little *Monitor* the national unity might not, and probably would not, have been preserved.

While this battle between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* was the only naval contest, ship against ship, in the civil war, no achievement of the British navy ever excelled in brilliancy the passage of the wooden ships, on their way to New Orleans, by the forts, Jackson and St. Philip, under such a fire as Farragut said the world had never witnessed. It would have been the grandest naval feat of the war had it not been followed by the battle in Mobile Bay. Nothing ever surpassed the picturesque gallantry displayed by Farragut in this last-named battle when, lashed to the rigging at the masthead of the flag-ship, he directed the movements of his fleet under the guns of two well-constructed and well-armed forts through a channel well supplied with torpedoes, by the explosion of one of which the iron-clad *Tecumseh*, which led the van, was sunk. When the *Tecumseh* went down, there was hesitation on the part of the captain of the *Brooklyn*, the next in line, and there seemed to be confusion among the ships, which

threatened disaster. "What is the trouble?" asked Farragut from his lofty perch on the *Hartford*, which was next to the *Brooklyn*. "What's the matter there?" "Torpedoes," was the reply. "Damn the torpedoes!" shouted Farragut; "the *Hartford* will take the lead!" which she did. Order was at once restored, and a grand victory was won. If there is a record of valor superior to that displayed by Farragut when lashed to the rigging of his ship, a target for the sharpshooters of the forts, giving his orders through a speaking trumpet, and when the leading gunboat had been destroyed by a torpedo, taking her place with his own wooden ship; —if there is a record of valor superior to that, I should not know where to find it.

One who met Farragut in society, without knowing anything of his exploits, would not have dreamed that this retiring, modest, simple-minded man, was one of the bravest and most skilful men that ever trod a quarter deck. Blind to all considerations but his duty to his country, Farragut would have been unconscious of his merits if he had not read the accounts of his achievements, and been honored as he was by his countrymen and the world. A native of Tennessee, he never for a moment thought of following his State when she attempted to secede from the Union. His allegiance to the Government was never shaken. To him there was but one flag to be sustained—the stripes and stars, the flag of the Union. The enemies of that flag were his enemies, although some of them were his kindred.

The spirit of our naval officers was exhibited in a letter to Farragut from Captain Theodorus Bailey, who took the lead in the passage of the fleet on the Mississippi by the forts: "I agree with you perfectly in ignoring personal interests and private feelings, but going in heart and soul for the good of the service and the perpetuation of the national interests. Nothing will please me better than to hoist once more the square red flag, and lead the van of your squadron into Mobile Bay to the capture of Forts Morgan and Gaines, as well as

the city. Put me down for two chances, as the Jackass said to the Monkey, in the Lion's ball." The gallant captain would have been delighted to lead the way to Mobile, as he did to New Orleans, but he was prevented by an attack of yellow fever.

The most of the work performed by the navy in the civil war was in co-operation with the land forces, to the movements of which the public attention was mainly directed; but its services lost none of their value from not being in the foreground. Arduous and most important duties were faithfully performed by the Union sailors, and whenever there was an opportunity, gallantry of the highest character was displayed by both officers and men.

There need be no apprehension in regard to our navy when again we have one. With equal ships, we shall have nothing to fear in a war with any other nation. Although with the exception of the war with Mexico, in which war ships were not required, there had been nearly fifty years of peace when the civil war broke out, there had been no falling off in the naval skill or the spirit of American seamen. Honorable as was the record of our naval ships in the last war with England, their record in this war will compare favorably with it. There have been no naval achievements in which superior courage and ability were displayed, than in those on the Mississippi and in Mobile Bay. No nation can boast of naval officers of whom it has had more reason to be proud than David G. Farragut, David D. Porter, Theodorus Bailey, Thomas T. Craven (who went down with the *Tecumseh*), Charles S. Boggs, Thomas A. Jenkins, and others of the same stamp.

As the result of our civil war, during which our merchant ships were either destroyed or disposed of, and of the use of iron and steel in ship building, and of penny-wise legislation since the war, the glory of the United States as a maritime and naval power has departed. Our surplus productions are

carried to foreign countries by foreign ships, and as we have no merchant marine to be protected, the necessity of ships of war for the defence of our sea-port cities has been overlooked. With an overflowing treasury, and sixty millions of people, our sea-coasts on both oceans are unprotected by any reliable fortifications, and we have not a single ship that can be called a first-class ship of war. Public attention is now being turned to the danger to which the country is thus exposed, and the indications are that at no distant day not only will our coast defences be perfected, but that ships will be constructed which will be an honor and safeguard to the nation. When this is accomplished, if not before, may we not hope that an enlightened policy in regard to our foreign commerce and our merchant marine will prevail, and that Americans in foreign seaports will be cheered as of yore by the sight of the Stripes and Stars, where they are now looked for in vain.

CHAPTER XXV.

Andrew Johnson—His Devotion to the Union—His Early History—His Limited Advantages—His Self-Reliance and Energy—The Position which he Took at the Close of Mr. Buchanan's Administration—While Military Governor of Tennessee, he visits Ohio and Indiana—His Unfortunate Appearance when he took the Oath as Vice-President—Mr. Lincoln's Remarks About it—He Takes the Oath of Office as President—He Desires the Members of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet to Retain their Positions—His Reconstruction Policy—His View of the Suffrage Question—His Veto of the Civil Rights Bill—Extracts from his First Message to Congress—Views Expressed by Mr. Lincoln—His First Message Approved by all the Members of the Cabinet—Management of the Different Departments Left to their respective Heads—Our Relations with Mexico under French Domination—Reference to them in the President's Message—Action of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State—His Wisdom.

NO public man in the United States has been so imperfectly understood as Andrew Johnson. None has been so difficult to understand. He had few personal friends; in no one did he entirely confide. He had many faults, but he abounded also in admirable qualities. His love of the Union was a passion intensified by the dangers to which it had exposed him, and by his labors in its defence. It was his devotion to the Union which compelled him to oppose the Reconstruction acts of Congress, which he thought would greatly retard, if they did not prevent its perfect restoration. I differed from him upon some subjects, but I never had reason to doubt his patriotism, or his personal or official integrity. His history is an interesting one.

Born in Raleigh, North Carolina, where there were no free schools, he did not know the alphabet when, at the age of ten, he was apprenticed to a tailor. His desire to learn to read was created by hearing a man who used to visit the shop read passages from the speeches of celebrated orators. To

satisfy this desire, he purchased a spelling-book and by hard study when he had time, he was able before the expiration of his apprenticeship to read the speeches which he had listened to with so deep an interest, and which gave birth to his ambition to be an orator himself. Ability to read was the extent of his education, when he removed from Raleigh to Greenville, Tennessee, with his mother and sister, who were dependent upon him for support; and this was its extent until after his marriage. His wife, for the time and place, was an accomplished young woman. Under her instructions, he learned to write and cipher. She was a loving teacher, the only teacher he ever had, and he an apt and ambitious scholar. Such were the educational advantages of Andrew Johnson. Who that knew him then—this poor young man, the pupil of his wife, earning by his shears and his needle a scanty support for himself and his dependents in a slave-holding State, where manual labor was a degradation—who that knew this young man in these circumstances, could have anticipated his future career? In whose life were there ever such wonderful changes—changes which so illustrate the character of republican institutions! Had he been born and reared under a monarchy, he would have been, unless he emigrated, a restless, discontented subject. In a republic where no repressing influences were at work, or none which brains and energy could not overcome, he rose step by step from the very lowest station in life to the highest. He owed nothing to luck. He was his own architect. To nothing was he indebted for his rise except the strong qualities which he inherited, and an open field for their development and exercise. The usual controlling influences of men in his position were all against him when he made Greenville his home, and for some years after. He was a tailor, and dependent upon his own hands for the maintenance of his family. The power of slavery in degrading free labor was less potent in eastern than in western Tennessee, and in the other slave-holding States; but it was strong there, and dominant, until

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he successfully resisted it. While working at his trade, he was elected Mayor of Greenville; next a member of the State Legislature; next a member of the State Senate; and he continued to work at his trade, as far as his public duties would permit, until he was elected a member of Congress in 1843. If I mistake not, he was the first tradesman who was sent to Congress from a slave State. He continued by successive elections to represent his district in Congress until 1853, when he was elected Governor of Tennessee. In 1857, he took his seat as a United States Senator, to which he had been elected the year before. In 1862 he was appointed by President Lincoln Military Governor of Tennessee, which position he held when he was elected Vice-President. On the 14th of April, 1865, he became President. From 1869 to 1875 he was in private life. In 1875, he was again elected a United States Senator. He died in July, of that year, after having served a single session. Such is an outline of the life of one of the extraordinary men of his time. Until 1861, he was a Democrat, and a supporter of all the leading measures of the Democratic party. In 1860, he favored the nomination of Breckenridge and Lane for President and Vice-President, and gave support to that ultra Democratic ticket. In 1861, he severed his connection with that wing of the party, and became a strong opponent of secession and a hearty champion of the Union, the only distinguished politician of the South who never faltered in his adhesion to the Government. Up to the time of his election as Vice-President, everything had gone well with him. By his opposition to secession, he had provoked the bitter hostility of the leading men of the South, but he had won the admiration of all loyal men throughout the country. The current of popular opinion was turned against him by the rambling and incoherent speech which he made on the 4th of March, 1865, upon taking the Vice-President's chair; it became irresistible long before the expiration of his term as President.

My attention was first directed to Mr. Johnson by the decided stand which he took in the closing months of Mr. Buchanan's administration against the secession movement. His speeches in the Senate in that trying period in our national history were remarkable for their boldness and force. He was in that body the only outspoken, uncompromising supporter of the Union from the South. Disregarding the threats of personal violence by prominent men in Tennessee, which were significantly referred to in the Senate chamber by some of the advocates of secession from the South, he stood before the country as an earnest defender of the Government as it was, the hearty opponent of all attempts to dismember it. While he was performing his duty as a United States Senator, at the special session in 1861, his family were driven from their home and subjected to persecution and ill treatment, by which the health of his wife was permanently injured. No man was more attached to his family than he was, but he felt that his country had the highest claim upon him, and he remained at his post until the session was closed. His duties as military governor put both his executive ability and his personal courage to the severest tests, but they were performed in a manner which challenged the respect of even his personal and political enemies in Tennessee, and secured approbation in Washington. In March, 1864, although the Confederacy was still strong, and Tennessee was overrun by gangs of Confederate marauders, elections were held by his orders for State and county offices, and the machinery for civil government was put in operation. Tennessee was thus saved from the utter disorganization which prevailed in the other Southern States, except Louisiana, upon the collapse of the Confederate Government in the following spring. While he was military governor, Mr. Johnson made brief visits to Ohio and Indiana. His speeches in both States were in full accord with the Union sentiment of the loyal people, and were listened to with great favor by the many thousands who flocked to hear him. I was

then living in Indiana, and I shared in the enthusiasm which his visits excited.

I was not present when Mr. Johnson took the oath of Vice-President in the Senate chamber, but the reports of his speech on that occasion amazed me. It was so different from what had been expected of him, so incoherent, so rambling, that those who listened to it thought that he was intoxicated. "It was not," said a senator to me the next morning, "the speech of Andrew Johnson, but the speech of a drunken man;" and such it undoubtedly was. He had been ill for some days before he left home, and on his way to Washington had taken brandy as an astringent. On the day of his inauguration as Vice-President he was really ill, and was so unwise as to resort to a stimulant before he went to the Senate chamber. His appearance and speech on that occasion made a most unfavorable impression upon the crowded assembly, and fears were excited that, at the time when wise and sober counsels were especially required, an intemperate man had been elected Vice-President. These fears were groundless, but the report of his appearance and speech made an impression upon minds suspicious of all Southern men that was never entirely removed. I had then no personal acquaintance with him, and I shared in the distrust which generally prevailed. Meeting Mr. Lincoln a day or two after, I said to him that the country, in view of the Vice-President's appearance on the 4th, had a deeper stake than ever in his life. He hesitated for a moment, and then remarked with unusual seriousness: "I have known Andy Johnson for many years; he made a bad slip the other day, but you need not be scared; Andy ain't a drunkard."

This remark of Mr. Lincoln came home to me when, a few weeks afterwards, I heard Mr. Johnson take the oath as President. Mr. Lincoln was right. Mr. Johnson was especially intemperate as a speaker when defending his policy and replying to the severe criticism to which he was subjected, but not in the use of liquor. I had good opportunities for observing his

habits, and my fears made me watchful. For six weeks after he became President, he occupied a room adjoining mine, and communicating with it, in the Treasury Department. He was there every morning before nine o'clock, and he rarely left before five. There was no liquor in his room. It was open to everybody. His luncheon, when he had one, was, like mine, a cup of tea and a cracker. It was in that room that he received the delegations that waited upon him, and the personal and political friends who called to pay their respects. It was there that he made the speeches which startled the country by the bitterness of their tone—their almost savage denunciations of secessionists as traitors who merited the traitor's doom. So intemperate were some of these speeches, that I should have attributed them to the use of stimulants if I had not known them to be the speeches of a sober man, who could not overcome the habit of denunciatory declamation which he had formed in his bitter contests in Tennessee. They were, like all of his subsequent offhand addresses, quite unsuited to his position as President. If he had been smitten with dumbness when he was elected Vice-President, he would have escaped a world of trouble. From that time onward he never made an offhand public speech by which he did not suffer in public estimation, but none of them could be charged to the account of strong drink. For nearly four years I had daily intercourse with him, frequently at night, and I never saw him when under the influence of liquor. I have no hesitation in saying that whatever may have been his faults, intemperance was not among them. There was a marked difference between his carefully-prepared papers and his offhand speeches. The former were well written and dignified; the latter were inconsiderate, retaliatory, and in a style which could only be tolerated in the heat of a political campaign—hence the opinion that they were made when he was under the influence of liquor.

It was at his hotel, on the morning of the 14th of April, that the oath of office as President was administered to Mr.

Johnson by Chief-Justice Chase, in the presence of the members of the Lincoln Cabinet (except Mr. Seward) and two or three senators who happened to be in the city. The ceremony was simple, but the circumstances were painful and alarming. Mr. Lincoln's body, from which life had departed but a few hours before, had just been conveyed to the White House, which he had left the evening before in the best of spirits. Mr. Seward was lying upon his bed desperately, if not fatally, wounded. It had been a night of horrors. Mr. Lincoln had been slain in a theatre; Mr. Seward had been assaulted in his bedroom, and reports were current that attempts had been made to assassinate the Vice-President and the Secretary of War. The streets were thronged with deeply excited but undemonstrative people. A feeling of uncertainty and depression pervaded the community. The blow which had been struck against the Government through its chief was so unexpected and terrible, that the bravest seemed to be awe-struck and staggered. Vigorous measures had been taken by the Secretary of War to prevent the escape of the assassins, but there were no visible enemies to be struck. Many thought that the Confederates, having been defeated in war, were attempting to break up the Government by assassinating its officials—that bloody treason was lurking throughout the city. There were doubtless some in Washington who were exultant over what had happened; some there were who were suspected of being desperate traitors, if not participants in the terrible crimes which had been committed, but they were not in the crowd, nor in the streets. If they had been, and attention had been directed to then, their doom would have been speedily sealed. Vengeance was ready to do its work; objects to wreak its force upon only were wanting. Such were the circumstances under which Mr. Johnson was called upon to undertake the duties of President. There was to be no interregnum. The Government was not to be without a head for a day, if delay could be avoided.

The conduct of Mr. Johnson favorably impressed those who were present when the oath was administered to him. He was griefstricken like the rest, and he seemed to be oppressed by the suddenness of the call upon him to become President of the great nation which had been deprived by an assassin of its tried and honored chief; but he was, nevertheless, calm and self-possessed. He requested the members of the Cabinet to remain with him after the Chief Justice and the other witnesses of the ceremony had retired, and he expressed to each and all of us his desire that we should stand by him in his difficult and responsible position. This desire was expressed in the language of entreaty, and he appeared to be relieved when he was assured that while we felt it to be our duty to him to place our resignations in his hands, he should have the benefit of such services as we could render until he saw fit to dispense with them. Our conference with him was short, but when we left him, the unfavorable impression which had been made upon us by the reports of his unfortunate speech when he took the Vice-President's chair had undergone a considerable change. We all felt as we left him, not entirely relieved of apprehensions, but at least hopeful that he would prove to be a popular and judicious President. The hopes of none of us were fully realized as time went on and controversies arose between him and Congress; but his first year's administration was cordially supported by every member of his Cabinet.

Upon leaving the President, each of the members went to his department sad and sorrowful, but still with the feeling that the republic was safe, and that the Government itself had not been even weakened by the great calamity that had befallen it. To the Assistant Treasurer in New York, I sent a message advising him that the Vice-President had taken the oath as President, and that the public business would go on without intermission or disturbance. From the other departments encouraging messages were also sent out, and these,

together with the reports that no changes in the Cabinet were contemplated, did much to prevent alarm and distrust throughout the country. After Mr. Lincoln's remains had been buried at Springfield, and the President had taken possession of the Executive Mansion, the executive business of the Government was taken up where it had been left by Mr. Lincoln.

It is not my purpose to review Mr. Johnson's administration, but there were some things about which he was misunderstood or misrepresented, to which I must briefly refer. Mr. Johnson was a man of unblemished personal integrity. He was an honest man, and his administration was an honest and clean administration. In this respect it will bear comparison with any that preceded or has followed it. In appointments, money was not potent. Offices were not merchandise. The President never permitted himself to be placed under personal obligations to any one. He received no presents. The horses and carriage which were sent to him soon after he became President were promptly returned. When he was so unwise as to suppose that there might be a third party, of which he was to be the head, he did, under the advise of injudicious friends, make some official changes to accomplish this object; but there were fewer changes than are usually made even when an administration follows one of the same party. There were more offices connected with the Treasury Department than with any other, and it is due to Mr. Johnson that I should say that his desire seemed always to be that it should be fairly and honestly administered, and, except for a very brief period, independently of political considerations. In no instance did he interfere with its management. In his bitter contest with Congress, although most of the employees of the department were politically opposed to him and his Reconstruction policy, he never even suggested that changes should be made for that reason. If he did not declare that public offices were public trusts, his actions proved that he so regarded them. In some matters I doubted the

correctness of his judgment, but I never doubted his devotion to what he considered his duty to the country, and the whole country. He was a laborious, painstaking man. For him, fashionable watering-places had no attractions. Neither by him nor by any member of his Cabinet was recuperation sought at the seaside or in the mountains. His administration had little popular and no distinctive party support; but judged by its merits, as sooner or later it will be, it will cast no discredit upon the national honor.

The first great work which demanded the attention of Mr. Johnson and his Cabinet was the restoration of the relations between the Southern States and the Government, which he and the members of his Cabinet regarded as having been suspended but not destroyed by the war; and this work was taken up just where Mr. Lincoln had left it. The very same instrument for restoring the national authority over North Carolina, and placing her where she stood before her attempted secession, which had been approved by Mr. Lincoln, was by Mr. Stanton presented at the first Cabinet meeting which was held at the Executive Mansion after Mr. Lincoln's death, and having been carefully considered at two or three meetings, was adopted as the Reconstruction policy of the Administration. As the work went on during the summer and autumn, there were complaints, chiefly from men who were opposed to what they called the re-admission to the Union of the Southern States before Congress had authorized it. Their contention was, that manhood suffrage, irrespective of color, should be the corner-stone in the reconstruction of the Southern States, and that they should remain under military control until that question was settled, and until Congress should determine what else should be required in order that they might regain the right which they had forfeited by their rebellion. The President and his Cabinet, on the contrary, thought that the best interests of the whole country demanded that the work of reconstruction should go on as rapidly as was

possible, and as it had been commenced. Neither he nor either of his counselors thought it advisable that a special session of Congress should be called, or that reconstruction should be delayed until the regular session. All thought—as the Executive action was in harmony with the views of Mr. Lincoln, which were well known, before his second election—that the true Union sentiment of the country would be satisfied with what was being done, notwithstanding the adverse criticism of some prominent men and a few public journals. In my address at Fort Wayne, I referred to the reconstruction policy of the Administration as follows:

"Under the President's direction the great work of re-establishing civil government at the South under the Federal Constitution is going rapidly forward—too rapidly, it seems, according to the opinion of many at the North whose opinions are entitled to great consideration. I know, sir, that many doubt the wisdom of Mr. Johnson's policy; that many are of the opinion that by their ordinance of secession the rebellious States had ceased to be States under the Constitution, and that nothing should be done by the Executive in aid of the restoration of their State governments until Congress had determined on what terms they should be restored to the Union which they had voluntarily abandoned and attempted to destroy; that as the people of these States had appealed to the sword and been subjugated by the sword, they should be governed by the sword until the law-making power had disposed of the subject of Reconstruction; that no State that had passed ordinances of secession and united with the so-called Confederate Government should ever be admitted again into the Union unless in its preliminary proceedings all men, irrespective of color, should be permitted to vote, nor without provisions in its Constitution for the absolute enfranchisement of the negro. Some go even farther than this, and demand the confiscation of the property of all rebels and the application of the proceeds to the payment of the national debt.

"These are not, I apprehend, the views of a respectable minority. I know that they are not the views of a majority of the people of the North. The better opinion is, that the States which attempted to secede never ceased to be States in the Union; that all their acts of secession were of no effect; that during the progress of the revolt, the exercise of the Federal

authority was merely suspended, and that there never was a moment when the allegiance of the people of the insurrectionary States was not due to the Government, and when the Government was not bound to maintain its authority over them and extend protection to those who required it. When the rebellion was overcome, the so-called Confederate Government, and all State Governments which had been formed in opposition to the Federal Government, ceased to have even a nominal existence, and the people who had been subject to them were left, for the time being, without any government whatever. The term of office of the Federal officers had expired, or the offices had become vacant by the treason of those who held them. There were no Federal revenue officers, no competent Federal judges, and no organized Federal courts. Nor were the people any better off so far as State authority was regarded. When the Confederacy collapsed, all the rebel State governments collapsed with it, so that, with a few exceptions, there were no persons holding civil office at the South by the authority of any legitimate government.

"Now, as a government is at all times a necessity among men, and as it was especially so at the South, where violence and lawlessness had full sway, the question to be decided by the President was simply this: Shall the people of the recently rebellious States be held under military rule until Congress shall act upon the question; or shall immediate measures be taken by the Executive to restore to them civil governments? After mature consideration, the President concluded it to be his duty to adopt the latter course, and I am satisfied that in doing so he has acted wisely. Military rule will not be endured by the people of the United States one moment longer than there is absolute necessity for it. Such an army as would have been requisite for the government of the people of the South, as a subjugated people, until Congress might prescribe the terms on which they could be restored to the Union, would have been too severe a strain upon our republican institutions, and too expensive for the present condition of the Treasury. The President has, therefore, gone to work to restore the Union by the use, from the necessity of the case, of a portion of those who have been recently in arms to overthrow it. The experiment may be regarded as a dangerous one, but it will be proved, I apprehend, to have been a judicious one. I have met a great many of those whom the President is using in his Restoration policy, and they have impressed me most favorably. I believe them to be honest in taking the amnesty oath, and in their pledges of fidelity to

the Constitution and the Union. Slavery has perished—this all acknowledge—and with it has gone down the doctrine of secession. State sovereignty had been discussed in Congress, before courts, in the public journals, and among the people, and at last 'when madness ruled the hour,' this vexed question was submitted to the final arbitrament of the sword. The question, as all admit, has been fairly and definitely decided, and from this decision of the sword there will be no appeal. It is undoubtedly true that the men of the South feel sore at the result, but they accept the situation, and are preparing for the changes which the war has produced in their domestic institutions with an alacrity and an exhibition of good feeling which has, I confess, surprised as it has gratified me.

"In the work of restoration the President has aimed to do only that which was necessary to be done, exercising only that power which could be properly exercised under the Constitution, which guarantees to every State a republican form of government. Regarding slavery as having perished in the rebellious States, either by the proclamation of his predecessor or by the result of the war; and determining that no rebel who had not purged himself of his treason should have any part in the restoration of the civil governments which he is aiding to establish, he has not considered it within the scope of his authority to go farther, and enfranchise the negro. For this he is censured by many true men at the North, and a few extreme men at the South, but I have no doubt that he will be sustained by the people, and that the result will vindicate the wisdom of his course."

My somewhat confident expectations were not realized. The very imprudent speech that was made by the President in February, 1866, and his veto of the Civil Rights bill in the following month, in which, according to a recent decision of the Supreme Court, he was right, turned not only the Republican party but the general public sentiment of the Northern States against him, and from that time onward there was open hostility between the executive and the legislative branches of the Government. There were some incidental questions of disagreement between them, but the most important one was the suffrage question. Mr. Johnson, although an earnest opponent of secession, was equally opposed to federal centrali-

zation. He believed, as did Mr. Jefferson, the father of the Democratic party, that all rights which were not clearly conferred upon the Government by the Constitution, or which were not fairly inferable from those which were expressly granted, were reserved by the States. He believed that in these reserved rights the right of secession was not included, and he believed also that the Government had no authority to declare who should be citizens of the States, or what, within the States, should be the qualification of voters. His views upon this subject were fairly presented in the following passages from his first message, one of the most judicious executive papers which was ever sent to Congress. It is the same that Mr. Adams referred to in his letter to Mr. Brooks:

"The relations of the General Government towards the four millions of inhabitants whom the war has called into freedom, have engaged my most serious consideration. On the propriety of attempting to make the freedmen electors by the proclamation of the Executive, I took for my counsel the Constitution itself, the interpretations of that instrument by its authors and their contemporaries, and recent legislation by Congress. When, at the first movement towards independence, the Congress of the United States instructed the several States to institute governments of their own, they left each State to decide for itself the conditions for the enjoyment of the elective franchise. During the period of the Confederacy, there continued to exist a very great diversity in the qualifications of electors in the several States; and even within a State a distinction of qualifications prevailed with regard to the officers who were to be chosen. The Constitution of the United States recognizes these diversities when it enjoins that, in the choice of members of the House of Representatives of the United States, 'the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.' After the formation of the Constitution, it remained, as before, the uniform usage for each State to enlarge the body of its electors, according to its own judgment; and, under this system, one State after another has proceeded to increase the number of its electors, until now universal suffrage, or something very near it, is the general rule. So fixed was this reservation of power in the habits of

the people, and so unquestioned has been the interpretation of the Constitution, that during the civil war the late President never harbored the purpose—certainly never avowed the purpose—of disregarding it; and in the acts of Congress, during that period, nothing can be found which, during the continuance of hostilities, much less after their close, would have sanctioned any departure by the Executive from a policy which has so uniformly obtained. Moreover, a concession of the elective franchise to the freedmen, by act of the President of the United States, must have been extended to all colored men, wherever found, and so must have established a change of suffrage in the Northern, Middle and Western States, not less than in the Southern and Southwestern. Such an act would have created a new class of voters, and would have been an assumption of power by the President which nothing in the Constitution or laws of the United States would have warranted.

"On the other hand, every danger of conflict is avoided when the settlement of the question is referred to the several States. They can, each for itself, decide on the measure, and whether it is to be adopted at once and absolutely, or introduced gradually and with conditions. In my judgment, the freedmen, if they show patience and manly virtues, will sooner obtain a participation in the elective franchise through the States than through the General Government, even if it had power to intervene. When the tumult of emotions that have been raised by the suddenness of the social change shall have subsided, it may prove that they will receive the kindliest usage from some of those on whom they have heretofore most closely depended.

"But while I have no doubt that now, after the close of the war, it is not competent for the General Government to extend the elective franchise in the several States, it is equally clear that good faith requires the security of the freedmen in their liberty and their property, their right to labor, and their right to claim the just return of their labor. I cannot too strongly urge a dispassionate treatment of this subject, which should be carefully kept aloof from all party strife. We must equally avoid hasty assumptions of any natural impossibility for the two races to live side by side in a state of mutual benefit and good will. The experiment involves us in no inconsistency; let us, then, go on and make that experiment in good faith, and not be too easily disheartened. The country is in need of labor, and the freedmen are in need of employment, culture and protection. While their right of voluntary

migration and expatriation is not to be questioned, I would not advise their forced removal and colonization. Let us rather encourage them to honorable and useful industry, where it may be beneficial to themselves and to the country; and, instead of hasty anticipations of the certainty of failure, let there be nothing wanting to the fair trial of the experiment. The change in their condition is the substitution of labor by contract for the status of slavery. The freedman cannot fairly be accused of unwillingness to work, so long as a doubt remains about his freedom of choice in his pursuits, and the certainty of his recovering his stipulated wages. In this the interests of the employer and the employed coincide. The employer desires in his workmen spirit and alacrity, and these can be permanently secured in no other way. And if the one ought to be able to enforce the contract, so ought the other. The public interest will be best promoted if the several States will provide adequate protection and remedies for the freedmen. Until this is in some way accomplished there is no chance for the advantageous use of their labor; and the blame of ill success will not rest on them.

"I know that sincere philanthropy is earnest for the immediate realization of its remotest aims; but time is always an element in reform. It is one of the greatest acts on record to have brought four millions of people into freedom. The career of free industry must be fairly opened to them; and then their future prosperity and condition must, after all, rest mainly on themselves. If they fail, and so perish away, let us be careful that the failure shall not be attributable to any denial of justice. In all that relates to the destiny of the freedmen we need not be too anxious to read the future; many incidents which, from a speculative point of view, might raise alarm will quietly settle themselves.

"Now that slavery is at an end or near its end, the greatness of its evil, in the point of view of public economy, becomes more and more apparent. Slavery was essentially a monopoly of labor, and as such locked the States where it prevailed against the incoming of free industry. Where labor was the property of the capitalist, the white man was excluded from employment, or had but the second best chance of finding it; and the foreign emigrant turned away from the region where his condition would be so precarious. With the destruction of the monopoly, free labor will hasten from all parts of the civilized world to assist in developing various and immeasurable resources which have hitherto lain dormant. The eight or nine States nearest the Gulf of Mexico have a soil of exu-

berant fertility, a climate friendly to long life, and can sustain a denser population than is found as yet in any part of our country. And the future influx of population to them will be mainly from the North, or from the most cultivated nations in Europe. From the sufferings that have attended them during our late struggle let us look away to the future, which is sure to be laden for them with greater prosperity than has ever before been known. The removal of the monopoly of slave labor is a pledge that those regions will be peopled by a numerous and enterprising population, which will vie with any in the Union in compactness, inventive genius, wealth, and industry."

These patriotic and statesmanlike views were supposed to be in harmony with those which had been entertained by Mr. Lincoln. They were approved by all the members of the Cabinet, of which Edwin M. Stanton, James Harlan, James Speed and William Dennison were members; and as far as could be judged from the general tone of the press by a very large majority of the people irrespective of party. A change took place in the sentiment of Republicans as soon as it was discovered that the President and Congress were not to work together harmoniously, and the opinion became general in the Republican party that without the ballot the recent slaves would be only nominally free; that by the ballot alone could their emancipation be made certain. Whether the condition of the colored people of the South has been improved by their possession of the elective franchise, bestowed as it was by Congress, is still, I think an open question. Many are of the opinion (and I am one of the number) that it would have been better for them and for the whole country if the suffrage question had been left to the States—where it properly belonged—that the enfranchisement of people recently in servitude, ignorant and degraded as they were, should have been made dependent upon their ability to execute the franchise intelligently. That emigrants from Europe, destitute of the knowledge which ought to be regarded as essential for the proper use of the ballot, have caused a dangerous degradation of

the elective franchise, and that this danger has been increased by the extension of the franchise to the recent slaves, cannot be gainsaid. The experiment of manhood suffrage is one of momentous importance. It certainly is not working well in our large cities. What will be its result when the whole country becomes densely settled, is among the uncertainties of the future which cannot be contemplated without misgivings. In concluding this brief reference to President Johnson's action in regard to the restoration of the seceded States to their places in the Union, it is due to him that I should say that in considering the constitutional questions involved, he was guided by his Attorney-General, Henry Stanbery, one of the most accomplished lawyers of the day, and second to none in sound judgment and in personal integrity and honor.

The management of the affairs of the different departments of the Government was left by the President, as it had been by Mr. Lincoln, to their respective heads, and it was not often that any Cabinet member presented at the Cabinet meetings a departmental subject for consideration or advice. The only question upon which I ever asked the opinion of the President and the Cabinet was in regard the appointment to the revenue offices in the Southern States of men who could not take the iron-clad oath to which I have already referred. There were, however, some questions of an important character which were not departmental, and these were considered at Cabinet meetings. One was Reconstruction; another, and next to Reconstruction one of the most interesting, was our relations with Mexico, then under French domination. The invasion of Mexico by the Emperor of the French, and his attempt to establish an hereditary monarchical government in that country, with the Austrian Archduke Maximilian at its head, in the most critical period of our civil war, created a great deal of feeling throughout the Northern States. It was not only in contravention of the Monroe Doctrine that no monarchical government should be established by foreign

arms on this side of the Atlantic, but it was regarded as an indirect movement in aid of the Confederacy. There had been diplomatic correspondence between this country and France, but nothing was done by the Executive to direct public attention to this important matter until after the close of the rebellion. In his first message, President Johnson referred to it in the following language: "The correspondence between the United States and France in reference to questions which have become subjects of discussion between the two Governments, will, at a proper time, be laid before Congress." This was done soon after, and it is enough to say of it, that it exhibited Mr. Seward's well-known ability as a writer and as a diplomatist, to the best advantage.

It was upon the Mexican question that the first difference arose between Mr. Johnson's Administration and the general of the army. No sooner had our civil war been terminated, than General Grant became the advocate of forcible measures for freeing our sister republic from the presence of her enemies. He expressed to the President and to Mr. Seward the opinion that notice should be given to the French Government that the presence of its army in Mexico could no longer be tolerated by the United States, and that unless it was speedily withdrawn, the United States would be bound, in maintaining their well-known policy, to aid the Mexicans in expelling them. General Grant was not content with the frequent and earnest expression of his opinion in regard to what the action of his Government should be; he ordered troops to the frontier, not only for readiness to march into Mexico in case war should be declared, but apparently to provoke hostilities, and thus make war between the two countries unavoidable. Mr. Seward's views, which were in harmony with those of the President and the President's other advisers, were in accord with those of General Grant, that the presence of French troops was not only a continuance of wanton aggression against Mexico, but a defiance of the well-known

doctrine of the United States that monarchy should not be established by foreign powers on this side of the Atlantic. His views had been forcibly presented to the French Government, and he had reason to suppose that they were receiving respectful consideration. While endeavoring to effect the withdrawal of the French from Mexico by diplomacy, he thought, of course, that menaces should be avoided, and that force should not be resorted to. The statesman was much wiser than the soldier. Mr. Seward knew that the invasion of Mexico had been in the interests of the Confederate States, the independence of which, and the breaking up of the great republic, had been hopefully, if not confidently expected by France as well as by England, and that the success of the Government in its war for self-preservation had made it abortive. He knew that the invasion of Mexico had never been popular with the French people, and that, as it was burdensome upon their treasury without reflecting glory upon the French arms, it was becoming odious to them. He knew also that the French people cared nothing for Mexico, but that they did care for the honor of their flag, and that war in which renown might be won was what Napoleon the Emperor needed to repair the blunder he had made in placing, at the expense of France, an Austrian prince upon the throne of Mexico. It was therefore very clear to the mind of Mr. Seward that all that was necessary on the part of the Government to secure the removal of the French was peace and time.

But this was not all. Mr. Seward perceived, what General Grant lost sight of, that an attempt to expel forcibly the French from Mexico might mean, not war between the United, but the disunited States, and one of the most powerful nations of Europe. The Confederates had been beaten, but they had not been restored to their old place in the Union. Time was required for the restoration of good feeling and permanent reconstruction. If war had occurred with France in 1865 or 1866, when General Grant was urging such action

on the part of the Government as would certainly have led to it, the Confederate States might have been again in arms, and with such an ally as France, they would have been sure of achieving their independence. The Government had no ships of war which could successfully encounter the ships of France. The Northern sea-ports would have been blockaded, the Southern ports opened to the trade of the world. The Federal armies might not have beaten in the field, but they would not have been long maintained. The loyal States, strong as they were, were not in condition for another sectional war, with France as ally of their enemy. A peace party would soon have been in the ascendant, and the Union would have been severed, if not broken into fragments. Many thousands of lives would have been sacrificed, and thousands of millions of dollars would have been expended in vain. All this was to be feared. It was feared by Mr. Seward. It was not cowardice, but prudence and intelligent statesmanship, that dictated the policy by adherence to which, the French army was forced out of Mexico, Maximilian left to his fate, and the prestige of Napoleon III. severely damaged. Fortunate was it for the people of the United States, and for the cause of civil liberty throughout the world, that at the close of our great civil war the control of the Government was not in the hands of a self-confident soldier.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Harmony between the President and his Cabinet until the Spring of 1866—Differences between them after Veto of the Civil Rights Bill—Mr. Dennison, Mr. Harlan and Mr. Speed Resign—Mr. Stanton Holds on to his Place against the Wishes of the President—The President Fails to Remove him before the Passage of the Act, and then Suspends him—The President's indefensible Extempore Speeches—Impeachment of the President—First Instance in the History of Nations of such a Trial—Manner in which it was Conducted—The Prosecutors—The President's Counsel—The Trial a Political One—Course Pursued by General Grant—Speech of Mr. Fessenden—The President Acquitted—How the Vote Stood—Mr. Stanton Resigns—Disadvantages under which the President Labored—His Messages and his Vetoes—Henry Stanbery—William M. Evarts—Injustice to President Johnson Continued after his Death—Jefferson Davis—I Visit him at Fortress Monroe—The Manner in which he was Treated—His Appearance—Never Brought to Trial—Mr. Johnson Elected United States Senator in 1875—His Death after Serving a Single Term.

UNTIL the spring of 1866, a year after Mr. Johnson became President, there was entire harmony between him and his Cabinet. In the work of restoring the relations between the Government and the States which had attempted to secede from the Union, which work was taken up where Mr. Lincoln had left it, and which was being prosecuted on the same line, they were a unit. No objection was raised even to that part of the President's first message which treated of the suffrage question by any member of the Cabinet. It was in fact approved by all, and by none more heartily than by Mr. Stanton. A change took place soon after the Civil Rights bill became a law over the President's veto, and bitter controversy arose between the President and Congress. In this controversy, and at its commencement, Mr. Dennison and Mr. Harlan sided with Congress and tendered their resignations, which were very reluctantly accepted. They resigned because they could not heartily sustain the President, but

there was no breach of the social relations which had existed between them. Mr. Speed soon after followed the example of Dennison and Harlan. Mr. Stanton also sided with Congress, but he did not resign. He was advised by prominent political and personal friends to "stick," and he did so, contrary to all precedent and in opposition to the judgment of conservative men of his party. Instead of following the example of his associates, who resigned when they could no longer give to the President a hearty support, he held on to his place. He attended the Cabinet meetings, not as an adviser of the President, but as an opponent of the policy to which he had himself been committed, and the President lacked the nerve to dismiss him. The failure of the President to exercise his undoubted right to rid himself of a minister who differed with him upon very important questions, who had become personally obnoxious to him, and whom he regarded as an enemy and a spy, was a blunder for which there was no excuse.

In this crisis of his political life, Mr. Johnson exhibited a want of spirit and decision which astonished those who were familiar with his antecedents. He knew when the Tenure-of-Office Bill was before Congress that the object of its leading supporters was to tie his hands, and yet he refrained from using them when they were free. For the first time in his life he manifested indecision and weakness, and when he did act, he acted unwisely. He retained Mr. Stanton in his Cabinet when his right to remove him was unquestionable. He suspended him after the Tenure-of-Office Bill had become a law, and in accordance with its provisions; and when the Senate refused to approve of the suspension, he issued orders for his removal and the appointment of Lorenzo Thomas to be Secretary of War *ad interim*. If he had tried to give to his enemies an advantage over him, to furnish them with weapons for his own discomfiture, he could not have done it more effectually. In suspending Mr. Stanton, the President did not, however, mean to acknowledge the validity of the Ten-

ure of Office Act as applicable to members of his Cabinet. His object was to free himself from a minister whom he could no longer trust as an adviser, and he hoped that the suspension would be approved, and that a wider breach between himself and the Senate might thus be avoided. He had, however, resolved that whatever might be the action of the Senate, he would, if he could, prevent Mr. Stanton from continuing to be Secretary of the Department of War and one of his constitutional advisers, until his authority to suspend or remove him had been determined by the courts, and he would therefore have acted more wisely if he had removed Mr. Stanton in the first place. By suspending him, and issuing an order for his removal after he had failed to accomplish his object by suspending him, he subjected himself to the charge of violating a law the validity of which he had practically recognized. If he had removed Mr. Stanton instead of suspending him, and justified his action on the ground that his control of the members of his Cabinet was a constitutional right of which he could not be deprived by Congress, he probably would not have been impeached. The gist of the charges against him was that he had violated a law of Congress in removing Mr. Stanton, or issuing an order for his removal, after the Senate had refused to sanction his suspension.

In the articles of impeachment there were other charges against the President, the most serious of which were that he had delivered intemperate, inflammatory speeches, which were intended to bring into contempt the Congress of the United States and duly enacted laws. The speeches made by the President in Cleveland, St. Louis, and other places in August and September, 1866—in fact, all his public addresses during his contest with Congress—were in the worst possible taste, derogatory to himself and to his high position; but they could not be properly regarded as criminal. All that could be said in extenuation of them was that they were extempore, and were delivered after he had been the object of bitter and

unprovoked attack by members of Congress. They were the kind of speeches that he had been in the habit of making in fighting his way up step by step from the tailor's bench to the Senate of the United States; such as he could not help making when his war spirit was aroused. The first that he made after he became President was in February, 1866. Having seen by the morning papers that he was to be called upon by citizens of the District and others, who desired to express their confidence in him, and their sympathy with him in his contest with Congress, which was then just commencing, I went to the White House, and advised him not to make a speech. I feared that if he did he would say things which would widen the party breach, and which he and his friends might have reason to be sorry for. I said this to him plainly. "Don't be troubled, Mr. Secretary," he replied. "I have not thought of making a speech, and I sha'n't make one. If my friends come to see me, I shall thank them and that's all." Such, I am sure, was his intention. But the crowd was large and noisy; they shouted when he made his appearance; the shouts became louder and more emphatic when he commenced speaking. His wise resolution was forgotten—his combativeness was aroused—and he made such a speech as no President could make without suffering in the estimation of thoughtful men. It was a type of all his offhand public addresses. They were all bad in substance, bad in language, bad in style; the very opposite of his messages and other communications to Congress, which are scarcely inferior in any respect to the best that have been issued from the Executive Mansion. Fortunate is it for Mr. Johnson that he is hereafter to be judged by his public acts, his carefully prepared speeches in Congress, and his official papers.

The extempore addresses to which I have referred, although utterly unbecoming a President of the United States, and in all respects bad, did not constitute good ground for his impeachment; and this was the opinion of the House,

which in January, 1867, after they were made, refused to impeach him by the decisive vote of 108 to 57. Other causes for his impeachment were subsequently sought for. His bank account was examined. His private conduct in Washington was carefully scrutinized. Men were employed to investigate his public and private character in Tennessee, but nothing was found to his discredit. There were few public men whose characters and conduct would have sustained as severe a scrutiny as Mr. Johnson's were subjected to in 1867. Nothing was found to justify his impeachment but the order which he issued for the removal of Mr. Stanton and his appointment of General Thomas to be Secretary of the War Department *ad interim* after the Senate had refused to sanction Mr. Stanton's suspension.

There are, I apprehend, very few if any of the Senators now living who, in the spring of 1868, voted that the President, by these acts, was guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, who can now look back upon their votes with satisfaction. The President thought that he had the right to remove any member of his Cabinet, and that it was not only his right but his duty to remove one who had become obnoxious to him, and with whom he could have no consultations. A majority of the members of Congress entertained the opinion that the President could not remove a member of his Cabinet, no matter how objectionable he might be, without the consent of the Senate. In this conflict of opinion the President was clearly right, and Congress clearly wrong; and yet but for the independence and firmness of seven Republican senators, the President would have been found and declared to be guilty, and been dismissed from his high office. Fortunate was it for the national honor that these senators would not permit their fealty to their party to influence their judgment and control their actions in this interesting trial.

When the Tenure-of-Office bill was under consideration in the Senate, one of the most prominent of the Republican

senators expressed the opinion that the bill, if it became a law, would not prevent the present President from removing the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of State, and then went on to say: "If I supposed that either of these gentlemen was so wanting in manhood, in honor, as to hold his place after the politest intimation by the President of the United States that his services were no longer needed, I certainly, as a senator, would consent to his removal at any time, and so would we all;" and yet this senator in a little more than a year after this utterance, voted with a majority of the senators that the President was guilty as charged in the articles of impeachment—the only charge worthy of consideration being the removal of Mr. Stanton, who had peremptorily refused to resign, and the appointment of General Thomas to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*. It is true that the senator, in the opinion which he delivered in explanation of the vote which he was about to give, admitted and proved by an argument of remarkable clearness and force that the President had the constitutional right to remove his Cabinet officers, and asserted that Congress had not undertaken to deprive him of that right; but he contended that the law had been violated by the appointment of General Thomas to be Secretary of War, and that by this act, the President was guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. That this position was untenable was clearly shown by Senator Fessenden and other senators. General Thomas was not appointed Secretary; he was merely authorized to act as such Secretary *ad interim*. If the President was authorized to remove Mr. Stanton, and if by that removal the office became vacant, it was not only the right but the duty of the President to appoint some one to perform the duties of the office temporarily. In doing it, he did what had been repeatedly done by his predecessors. The heads of the Government departments are the ministers of the President, upon whom he can call for advice and assistance in the discharge of

his difficult and manifold duties, and for whose acts he is, in the public estimation, responsible. They are a part of the Executive Government, of which he is the head, and consequently they ought to be under his control. The denial of the right of a President to remove a member whose views upon important questions are not in harmony with his own—who may be using the influence of his position to thwart the execution of measures which he, the head of the Government, regards as being important to the public welfare—is a denial of the power which is essential to the very existence of an independent and efficient executive.

It was for this right that Mr. Johnson contended. Mr. Stanton had ceased to be a minister upon whom he could call for advice, or with whom he could hold counsel. He was at the head of one of the great departments, and at the same time was avowedly hostile to the Reconstruction policy of the Executive. It therefore became the duty of the President to do what he could to be rid of him. This he endeavored to do in accordance with the provisions of the Tenure-of-Office Act. Unsuccessful in this, he issued orders for the removal of Mr. Stanton, and the appointment of General Thomas to act as Secretary *ad interim*. Mr. Stanton refused to surrender his office, and, strangely enough, no way was discovered in these circumstances by which the right of the President to remove him could be presented to the courts. Mr. Stanton continued to hold the office of Secretary, and the President was not only prevented from doing what he thought his duty required of him, but was charged before the Senate with the commission of high crimes and misdemeanors for attempting to do it. The trial was a very interesting one, not only to the people of the United States, but to the people of other countries:—to the former, because it threatened a change in the administration of the government, and might be followed by important political results;—to the latter because it might test the strength of republican institutions. The fact that it was

conducted without pomp or display of military power did not lessen the interest which was felt in the trial, but rather gave character and dignity to the proceedings. It was an arraignment of the highest officer in the nation as a criminal before the highest tribunal;—of a man who three years before had been selected by the dominant party for the second office in the government in recognition of the services he had rendered in the preservation of its integrity, his well-tried loyalty, and his ability. It was the first instance in the history of nations of the trial of the head of a government before one of the branches of the law-making power, sitting as a judicial tribunal, on charges presented by another. The presiding officer was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—the senators of the respective States were the jury—the House of Representatives the prosecutor. The managers to conduct the impeachment for the House were John A. Bingham, George S. Boutwell, James F. Wilson, Benjamin F. Butler, Thomas Williams, Thaddeus Stevens and John A. Logan, all members of the House, all lawyers, and some of them distinguished in the profession. The President entered his appearance by Henry Stanbery, Benjamin K. Curtis, Jeremiah S. Black, William M. Evarts, and Thomas A. K. Nelson. William S. Groesbeck, in the course of the trial, appeared and took part as counsel for the President in place of Mr. Black. The case, as I have said, was an exceedingly interesting and important one and the counsel on both sides were in keeping with the case. There was but one drawback upon the grandeur of the trial, but this was a very serious one—it was not an impartial trial. Each senator had sworn that in all things appertaining to the trial of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, he would do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws. It is undeniable that when this oath was taken, a majority of the senators were not prepared to do impartial justice to the accused. According to the records, the President was tried on the charges contained in the Articles of

Impeachment. He was, in fact, tried as a political offender. His offence was, in the language of one of the senators, "that he had abandoned the party which had intrusted him with power." It was well understood before a document had been presented, or a witness had been examined, how most of the senators would vote. The President was impeached for the purpose of bringing about such a change in the Administration as would harmonize the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government. It was, in fact, a trial in which senators were expected to be governed by their party allegiance rather than their oaths to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws. Long before the trial was terminated, if not before it was commenced, it seemed to be well known that all but seven or eight of the Republican senators had come to the conclusion that the President was guilty, and that they would vote accordingly.

The senators whose votes were regarded as being doubtful were Fessenden, Grimes, Frelinghuysen, Trumbull, Van Winkle, Fowler, Henderson, and Jones; and their votes were so regarded because they had not avowed how they intended to vote. The simple fact that they had expressed no opinion as to the innocence or guilt of the President led to apprehension that they might not be satisfied that the charges were sustained by the evidence. The vote of Mr. Frelinghuysen was not, however, long regarded as being doubtful. He was "labored with" by some of his brother senators, and the general of the army, in his zeal for the conviction of the President, did not hesitate to use his personal and official influence to secure that result. His interviews with the senator were so satisfactory that they relieved him and his friends from the anxiety they had felt in regard to the senator's vote. The general did not call upon either of the other senators whose names have been mentioned. If he had, he might have met with a very different reception from that which he met with when he called upon Mr. Frelinghuysen. The other senators

were, however, appealed to by their associates to stand by their party in what might be the crisis of its existence. Some of them received letters like those which were received by Mr. Fessenden, but they had taken an oath, as he had, to do justice to the accused, and they were not to be swerved from their duty to him and to themselves by appeals or threats. No one knew how they would vote until they expressed their opinions just before the vote was taken. They voted that the charges against the President were not sustained. By doing so, they not only exhibited their independence and the strength of their convictions, but they saved the national honor from discredit, and, as many thought, their party from disruption. There are now, I think, very few who can read the speech which Mr. Fessenden made in explanation and justification of the vote which he was about to give, without being compelled to admit that there was nothing in the evidence to warrant senators in finding the President guilty as charged. I am sure that no one can read it without being struck with its clearness and force; nor without feelings of admiration for the senator himself. In concluding his speech, he said:

"To the suggestion that popular opinion demands the conviction of the President, I reply that he is not now on trial before the people, but before the Senate. The people have not heard the evidence as we have heard it. They have not taken an oath to do impartial justice according to the Constitution and the laws. I have taken that oath. I cannot render judgment upon their convictions, nor can they transfer to themselves my punishment if I violate my own. I should consider myself undeserving of the confidence of that just and intelligent people who imposed upon me this great responsibility, and unworthy a place among honorable men, if for any fears of public reprobation, and for the sake of securing popular favor, I should disregard the convictions of my judgment and conscience. The consequences that may follow from conviction or acquittal are not for me, with my convictions, to consider. The future is in the hands of Him who made and governs the universe, and the fear that He will not govern well would not excuse me for a violation of His law."

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The speeches of the other Republican senators who voted with Mr. Fessenden were also pointed and strong—admirable for their ability and the independence which they displayed. The speeches of the senators who voted that the President was guilty were also able, but they breathed throughout a partisan spirit.

The President was not convicted, none of the articles presented against him by the House having been sustained by two-thirds of the senators. The senators who voted "guilty" were Messrs. Anthony, Cameron, Cattell, Chandler, Cole, Conkling, Conness, Corbett, Cragin, Drake, Edmunds, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Harlan, Howard, Howe, Morgan, Morrill of Maine, Morrill of Vermont, Morton, Nye, Patterson of New Hampshire, Pomeroy, Ramsey, Sherman, Sprague, Stewart, Sumner, Thayer, Tipton, Wade, Willey, Williams, Wilson and Yates—35.

The senators who voted "not guilty" were Messrs. Bayard, Buckalew, Davis, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Fowler, Grimes, Henderson, Hendricks, Johnson, McCreery, Norton, Patterson of Tennessee, Ross, Saulsbury, Trumbull, Van Winkle and Vickers—19.

While a good deal of mortification and chagrin was felt by Republican partisans throughout the country, and especially in Washington, at the acquittal of the President, there were not a few who were relieved by it of anxious forebodings which they had been unable to suppress in regard to the effect which his conviction might have upon the next Presidential election. They knew that Benjamin F. Wade, who, as the presiding officer of the Senate, would become President if Mr. Johnson were found guilty, lacked the high qualities which ought to be possessed by the head of the Government, and they feared that in the selection of his Cabinet and in the use of the appointing power generally, he would weaken the party at the time when it ought to be strong. They knew that for every desirable office there would be many disappointed applicants,

who would be indifferent workers in the approaching contest. As the deposition of the President was confidently expected up to the day on which the vote was taken, Washington was full of office-seekers, a large part of whom were not the kind of men to give character as office-holders to an administration which, by not having been created by a popular vote, would be subjected to unusual scrutiny. It was quite clear, therefore, to the minds of such men that nothing would be gained, and great loss might be sustained by the party in power, by a change at that time and such manner in the Executive. They were therefore of the opinion—and some of them did not hesitate to express it—that if the Republican party should maintain its ascendency, it would be owing to the votes of the seven Republican senators who, with the main body of Democratic senators, voted that the President was not guilty.

In this whole matter Mr. Stanton acted in accordance with the wishes of his party, as expressed by most of its leading members in Congress, and in opposition to his own opinion as a lawyer, in regard to the constitutional authority of the President. He never thought that Congress could deprive the President of his right to remove civil officers whose services he desired to dispense with. He did not believe in the constitutionality of the Tenure-of-Office Act. He had denounced it at the time of its passage in the severest language. He felt that he had placed himself in a false position by denying the right of the President to remove him from the office of Secretary of War in opposition to the opinion which he had given to the President in writing, and after his return to private life he was anxious that on this point he should be set right. In the last conversation which he had with one of his most intimate friends, he said that although he had stood by those who had stood by the Government, Mr. Lincoln and himself during the war, and had remained in the Cabinet in opposition to the wishes of his chief, he had never doubted the constitutional right of the President to remove the members

of his Cabinet without question from any quarter whatever. The Reconstruction measures which were advocated by President Johnson were the same that had been favorably considered by Mr. Lincoln, and in the same conversation referred to, Mr. Stanton expressed the opinion that "if Mr. Lincoln had lived he would have had a hard time with his party, as he would have been at odds with it on Reconstruction."

Mr. Stanton was a Democrat, and in full sympathy with the South until the disruption of the Union was undertaken by force. From that time he never faltered in his allegiance to the Government, although at the commencement of the war he doubted its ability to maintain its integrity, because he then thought that the South would be better led and more united than the North; that the Confederate Government would be subject to less restrictions than the United States Government, and more heartily supported. During the war his complaint was, that the President and himself were unnecessarily hampered. He was a believer in the rights of the States, but he was also a believer in the rights of the Government, and in the independence of the Executive, subject only to the supreme law of the land—the Federal Constitution.

Upon the acquittal of the President, Mr. Stanton resigned his office of Secretary of the War Department. His health had been impaired by his exertions and labors during the war, and he did not find rest in the three years that followed. He died on the 24th of December, 1869, having made for himself a record for energy, promptness of decision, practicable ability and inflexible devotion to the Government, which entitled him to a very high rank among those who are justly honored for their services when the national life was at stake. He was a man of strong prejudices, hastly formed and frequently unjust, but he was never influenced in the exercise of his war powers by selfish considerations. He relinquished a lucrative practice in the legal profession to serve the country when just

such services as he was able to render were required, and he did serve it with unfaltering zeal and unremitting industry. Mistakes he made, and wrongs he sometimes committed in his judgment and treatment of army officers; but it cannot be truly said that his action was ever prompted by unworthy motives. He was a great war minister, and his proper mission ended at the end of the war. He would have been a happier man—been more highly esteemed by his most judicious friends—and would probably have lived longer, if he had acted in accordance with his own judgment, and resigned his office when he could no longer stand with the President in his contest with Congress.

Immediately after the resignation of Mr. Stanton, the President tendered the office of Secretary of War to General Schofield. It was promptly accepted, and from that time to the close of his administration, there was not only harmony in the Cabinet, but there was a cessation of active hostilities between the President and Congress. Good feeling was not restored, but bad feeling was in a large degree repressed. The only prominent man whose bitterness against the President was increased by the result of the trial was General Grant, who had used his personal and official influence to effect a conviction. To him the acquittal of the President was a severe disappointment; it was more; it was a defeat; and his hatred for the man for whose deposition he had labored, was intensified by it, and yet it is very doubtful that he would have been elected to the high place from which he strove to eject Mr. Johnson if his labors had been successful.

In his administration of the Government, Mr. Johnson labored under great disadvantages. He had been a Democrat, but his connection with the Democratic party was severed when he became the Republican candidate for the Vice-Presidency. He was disowned by the Republicans when he antagonized the Reconstruction measures of Congress. For a good

part of his term he was President without a party. The Democratic Senators in a body stood by him in his impeachment trial; but they did so, not from personal regard, but because the trial was political, and because they approved of his Reconstruction policy, which was in harmony with the Democratic doctrine in regard to the constitutional rights of the States; but they never gave to him or to his administration cordial support. By the Republican press, and by some members of Congress, he was denounced as a traitor, not only to his party, but to the country. His services during the war, in recognition of which he had been nominated for the Vice-Presidency; the bravery which he had displayed in his contests with the secessionists of Tennessee; the terrible trials to which his family were subjected by his fidelity to the Union, were all ignored, buried, forgotten. He was accused not only of political offences, but of personal misconduct of which there was not the slightest proof. Unfortunately for himself, such was his temperament that he could not restrain his disposition to repel by intemperate speeches the attacks that were made upon him. He seemed to forget what was due to his station—to be unmindful that he had been lifted out of the political arena in which he had been so long a combatant. Silence in his case would have been wisdom; defence by retaliatory speeches was a blunder. He ought to have felt that his true defence existed in his public career and his official record; and that sustained by them, the assaults of his enemies would be harmless. He disagreed with Congress (as his predecessor would have done had he lived) in regard to what should be required of the Southern States before they resumed their places in the Union which they had done their best to destroy. It should have been considered an honest difference of opinion on both sides. Congress should have been contented with thwarting his plan of Reconstruction. He should have been content with the exercise of his veto. It was an unseemly—a disreputable—quarrel, in which both

sides were at fault. He was not the aggressor, however, and, although his course was in some respects indefensible, he little merited the obloquy which was heaped upon him at the time, and which still, to some extent, attaches to his name.

No matter how unpopular or severely criticised a man occupying a high position may have been while in active life, there is usually a disposition, even on the part of those who were the most hostile to him to be generous to his memory. This disposition has not been manifested in Mr. Johnson's case. It is not often that kindly mention is made of him upon the platform or in the press. Among those who have filled high places with ability, or rendered distinguished services to their country, his name is rarely classed; and yet when the history of the great events with which he was connected has been faithfully written, there will appear few names entitled to greater honor and respect than that of Andrew Johnson. His faults were patent: he was incapable of disguise. He was a combatant by temperament. If he did not court controversy, he enjoyed it. He rarely tried to accomplish his ends by policy; when he did, he subjected himself to the charge of demagogy. In tact he was utterly deficient, and he ran against snags which he might easily have avoided. Naturally distrustful, he gave his confidence reluctantly—never without reserve; he had therefore few constant friends. These peculiarities and defects in his character were manifest, and they were severe drawbacks upon his usefulness in public life. On the other hand, he never cherished animosity after a contest was over. He never failed in generosity towards a defeated foe. He was brave, honest, truthful. He never shrank from danger, disregarded an engagement, or was unfaithful to his pledges. His devotion to the Union was a passion. There was no sacrifice that he was not willing to make, no peril that he was not willing to encounter in its defence. It was not mere emotion that prompted the direction that the flag of his country—the Stripes and Stars—should

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be his winding sheet, but the expression of his devotion to the principles which it represented. He was a kind and helpful neighbor, a tender and indulgent father. He was proud of his daughters, and he had reason to be, for they were devoted to him; and more sensible, unpretending women never occupied the Executive Mansion. In intellectual force he had few superiors. He had, as has been stated, no educational advantages, but he made such use of opportunities that he never failed to fill with credit the various places which he held in his way up to the highest position in the Government. The carefully prepared speeches which he made in the House and the Senate chamber in Washington were always to the point. His messages, except his vetoes, written by himself, with no other help than what he received from his private secretary, bear favorable comparison with the messages of those who preceded or have followed him. His first veto, that of the Civil Rights bill, was strong in argument and admirable in spirit. Who assisted him in the preparation of it I do not know; but he must have had assistance, for it exhibited a higher order of legal ability than he possessed. That his reasons for withholding his signature to that bill were well formed, has been proven by the recent decision of the Supreme Court, pronouncing it unconstitutional. That a similar decision would have been made on the Tenure-of-Office Act, if the question had come before that court, is not now, I think, denied by anybody whose opinion upon a constitutional question is worth anything. The veto of this bill, strange as it seems in view of his subsequent course, was written by Mr. Stanton. Mr. Johnson's other vetoes were mainly prepared by Attorney-General Henry Stanbery—whom Mr. Chase pronounced the most accomplished lawyer of the day, and who, in mental power, was second only to Thomas Ewing, at the Ohio bar—but they were carefully considered by himself.

Of Mr. Johnson's patriotism there ought not to have been a question, for he had given the highest evidence of it. He

believed that the Southern States which had attempted to secede were never out of the Union, and that when they had laid down their arms, submitted to the authority of the Government, and given honest pledges of future loyalty, they should at once have been permitted to resume their places. In this he may have been wrong, but he was backed by what was understood to be Mr. Lincoln's opinion, and by a respectable minority of the people of the North. There was no indication of a want of patriotism in this, nor was there in any of his utterances or acts. No member of his Cabinet ever heard from him an expression which savored of unfaithfulness to the Constitution. Mr. Dennison, Mr. Harlan and Mr. Speed resigned their places, not because they distrusted him, but because they could not stand by him in his contest with Congress. Their successors, and the rest of the members, including Mr. Evarts, who had been one of his counsel in the impeachment trial, and who became his Attorney General, never had the slightest reason to doubt his personal or his political integrity, or his unselfish patriotism. All this can be said without exaggeration of Mr. Johnson. No one that knew anything of his history could doubt his ability. No one could truthfully say that he was intemperate; and yet a Methodist bishop, a few years ago, in a speech which he made at Woodstock, Connecticut, on the Fourth of July, in eulogy of General Grant, referred to his predecessor as having been a "drunken imbecile;" and this expression, shameful and brutal and false as it was, was listened to by a crowd of highly intelligent and respectable people, without rebuke, and published in a religious newspaper without comment. A distinguished clergyman, in a historical sermon or address, recently delivered in Washington, spoke at length of Tyler, of Fillmore, of Arthur, of all the Vice-Presidents who became Presidents by virtue of their office as Vice-President, except Johnson, whose name was not even mentioned. And yet who can say that he served the country less faithfully than

they did, or that his life-long services were less valuable than theirs?

The question, "What shall be done to the Confederate leaders?" was referred to, but not discussed at Mr. Lincoln's last meeting with his Cabinet. Mr. Lincoln merely remarked in his humorous manner, "I am a good deal like the Irishman who had joined a temperance society, but thought that he might take a drink now and then if he drank unbeknown to himself. A good many people think that all the big Confederates ought to be arrested and tried as traitors. Perhaps they ought to be; but I should be right glad if they would get out of the country unbeknown to me." This question came up in the case of Jefferson Davis, soon after Mr. Johnson became President. Davis had been captured while attempting to escape after the fall of Richmond, and was a prisoner in close confinement in Fortress Monroe. Some action must be taken in his case—what should it be? He had been the President of the Confederacy, and was therefore the most conspicuous of the enemies of the Government. By a large part of the people of the North he was regarded as the arch-traitor upon whose head vengeance should be visited. Should he be liberated in the face of the strong feeling against him, or should he be arraigned for treason, and if arraigned, should he be tried by a military commission or a United States court? These were interesting and important questions, requiring the most careful consideration both in their legal and political bearing.

The legal question, Has Mr. Davis been guilty of such acts of treason, that he can be successfully prosecuted? was submitted to the Attorney General, who, after a thorough examination of it and consultation with some of the ablest lawyers in the country, came to the conclusion that Mr. Davis could not be convicted of treason by any competent and independent tribunal, and that therefore he ought not to be tried. The conclusion was undoubtedly correct. It was a revolution

which had been attempted by the Southern States—a general uprising of the people of the South against the Government. It was war in which they had been engaged—war of such proportions that belligerent rights had been accorded to them by foreign nations. The same rights had been acknowledged by the Government in exchanges of prisoners and other acts. They could not, therefore, be charged with treason, nor could one of their number be singled out and legally convicted of the crime. Aside from these considerations, it was clear that whatever treasonable acts Mr. Davis might have been guilty of, were committed in the Southern States, where, under the Constitution, the trial must take place, and where conviction would be impossible. The President was chagrined by the decision, which was forced upon him by the opinions of the Attorney General and other eminent lawyers. It was in direct opposition to his committals in the vindictive speeches which he made at the commencement of his administration; but he saw the correctness of it, and from that time he pushed his generosity to those whom he had denounced as traitors to an extreme. Mr. Davis was only one of the many thousands who were engaged in war against the Government. His position made him the most conspicuous, but he was no more guilty than many others, against whom no proceedings were contemplated. There was no evidence that he was responsible for the horrors of Andersonville, or the general bad treatment to which Union soldiers were subjected in Southern prisons. He was, however, kept in confinement until the spring of 1867, when he was brought before the United States Court at Richmond on the charge of treason, and admitted to bail. He was not tried, although he expressed a desire to be, nor was he among those who asked to be pardoned.

While the question was pending, the President sent for me one day, and said that he would like to have me go privately and unofficially to Fortress Monroe and ascertain whether or not the reports that had reached him about the treatment of

Davis were true. "He was," said the President, "the head devil among the traitors, and he ought to be hung; but he should have a fair trial, and not be brutally treated while a prisoner." A few days after the request was made I was able to comply with it. On my arrival at the fortress, Mr. Davis was walking upon the ramparts accompanied by a couple of soldiers. I was glad to notice that his gait was erect, his step elastic, and when he came up to where I was standing, that he had not the appearance of one who was suffering in health by imprisonment. I spent an hour or two with him in conversation. "I was," he said, "in the first two or three months of my imprisonment, treated barbarously, but now I am permitted to have a daily walk, and my present quarters, as you perceive, are such as a prisoner charged with high treason ought not to complain of"—a cot, a small pine table, and two cane-bottomed chairs. The cot and chairs were hard, and of the plainest and cheapest kind; but the room was clean and well lighted. There was not much need of light, for the only book in the room was an old treatise upon military tactics—a subject which was not especially interesting to the prisoner at that time, and in that place. Newspapers were forbidden to him. My interview was very pleasant. There have been few men more gifted than Mr. Davis, and few whose opportunities for intellectual culture have been better improved. I had not known him personally, but I knew what his standing was among the able men of the country, and expected to meet in him an accomplished gentleman. To those who knew him well, it is not necessary for me to say that I was not disappointed, and that I was most favorably impressed by his manners and conversation. I was his first visitor, and he seemed to be pleased with my visit, and with the opportunity which it gave to him for a free talk. He was indisposed to say much about himself, and it was only by direct questions that I learned the facts in regard to the barbarous treatment to which he had referred. "I was," he said, "when brought to

the fortress, not only strictly confined in a casemate, which was little better than a dungeon, but I was heavily ironed. As I had been a submissive prisoner, and was in a strong fortress, I thought that chains were unnecessary, and that I ought not to be subjected to them. I resisted being shackled, but resistance was vain. I was thrown violently upon the floor, and heavily fettered. This was not all: the casemate in which I was confined was kept constantly and brilliantly lighted, and I was never relieved of the presence of a couple of soldiers. My eyes were weak and sensitive, I suffered keenly from the light, and you can judge how my sufferings were aggravated by my not being permitted for months to have one moment by myself." I listened silently to this statement, given substantially in his own language; but I felt as he did, that he had for a time been barbarously treated. Chains were unnecessary, and the constant presence of the guards in the casemate must have been, to a sensitive man, worse than solitary confinement, which is now regarded as being too inhuman to be inflicted upon the greatest criminals. I happened to know some of his personal friends in the West, and he had a great deal to talk about without saying much about himself. He seemed to be neither depressed in spirits nor soured in temper. He could not help saying something about the war, but he said nothing in the way of justification or defence. He had the bearing of a brave and high-bred gentleman, who, knowing that he would have been highly honored if the Confederate States had achieved their independence, would not and could not demean himself as a criminal because they had not. The only anxiety he expressed was in regard to his trial, not as to the result, but the time. He thought the delay unnecessary and unjust. He was kept in prison for two years before he was arraigned, and released on bail; and, strangely enough, Horace Greeley and Gerrit Smith, the distinguished abolitionists, were among the signers of his bond.

On my return to Washington, I made a verbal report to the President of the manner in which Mr. Davis was then being treated. No executive action was considered necessary in his behalf, and nothing was done in his prosecution except what has been mentioned.

Henry Stanbery resigned the office of Attorney General, at the commencement of the impeachment trial, to become one of the President's counsel. His health, never perfect, had been impaired by his labors and anxieties during the trial, and after the President's acquittal, he felt it to be his duty to decline re-appointment. Mr. William M. Evarts was appointed Attorney General, and the end of Mr. Johnson's administration was peaceful. Strong as was the popular prejudice against him during the most of his presidential career, he never lost the confidence and respect of those who knew him best. His hold upon the hearts of the people of Tennessee was never lost. He was elected United States Senator in 1875, and respectfully and kindly treated by even those senators who a few years before, under political pressure, had denounced him as a criminal. He did not long enjoy his new honor. He died after serving a single session. He was buried in the State which had conferred high honors upon him, and which he had honored in return by his ability and his devotion to what he considered his duty to her and the country.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Presidential Election of 1876—Rutherford B. Hayes, and William A. Wheeler nominated by the Republicans—Samuel J. Tilden, and Thomas A. Hendricks by the Democrats—Brief Sketch of the Nominees—The Canvass a vigorous One—First Reports favorable to the Democrats—The Result uncertain—Great Anxiety and Apprehension throughout the Country—The Commission Appointed to Determine the Result—Hayes and Wheeler Declared to be Elected—Remarks of the President of the Union Telegraph Company—My Own Opinion of the Election—Hayes's Administration a creditable one.

THE Presidential election of 1876 was contested with great vigor on both sides. Rutherford B. Hayes, the nominee of the Republican party for President, had done good service in the army, and as the candidate for Governor of Ohio in 1875, had led the party to victory when financial questions were the main subjects for discussion. William A. Wheeler, the nominee for Vice-President, was a man of a high order of ability, who had acquired distinction in Congress. The ticket was a strong and popular one. Mr. Hayes was not the first choice of his party, but it was thoroughly united by his nomination. It had, however, been shorn of a good deal of its strength during General Grant's second term. It had lost the control of the House of Representatives, but it held the mastery in the Senate and retained a good deal of the prestige which it had acquired during the war. It was still confident and aggressive. The Democratic party was especially sagacious in the selection of its candidates. Of its nominee for Vice-President, Thomas A. Hendricks, I have already spoken. Samuel J. Tilden, the nominee for President, was a man of distinguished ability in his profession. "He is," said Henry Stanbery to me, in 1864, "the ablest corporation lawyer in the United States." The consolidation of the Ohio and

Pennsylvania, the Ohio and Indiana, and the Fort Wayne and Chicago railroads into the great trunk line, the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne and Chicago, was, as far as all legal questions were involved, his work. The three roads were constructed under the laws of four States, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, and in their consolidation many new, complicated and difficult questions were to be grasped and solved. It was the first great work of the kind that had been undertaken in the United States, and the manner in which it was accomplished placed Mr. Tilden as a railroad lawyer at the head of his profession. His distinction was not, however, limited to his superior knowledge of the laws by which corporate bodies were created and governed. His general legal learning was extensive and accurate. He was not an easy and graceful speaker, and he was rarely effective in addressing a jury; but as a legal counsellor, he had few equals and no superior in New York. He was also a man of large literary acquirement, a forcible and instructive writer, and when he entered the political arena he was leader and master. To all these qualities he united sagacity and pluck. It was by his skilful and persistent labors that a powerful ring that had for years been governing and robbing the city was exposed and broken up. Then, too, he was a worthy representative of Jeffersonian democracy—sound to the core upon all financial and economical questions according to the standards of that school. That he was thoroughly equipped for the Presidency, was not denied by his opponents. The main objections to his nomination were that, although a Union man, he had been more disposed to criticise the actions of the Government than to strengthen it by his hearty support during the war. He was rich, and the most of his large fortune had been acquired in railroad operations, in which he was an adept, and in which a large part of his gains were the losses of other people; but these drawbacks were not considered serious by the party leaders.

The tickets on both sides were highly respectable. On the

whole it would have been difficult for the managers to have selected men better fitted to bring out the full Republican and Democratic strength. The comparatively few votes which were cast for the Greenback ticket, at the head of which was the venerable and honored name of Peter Cooper, were drawn about equally from the two parties.

The mention of Mr. Cooper's name reminds me of a conversation which I had with him at the dinner which was given to Bayard Taylor just before the latter's departure to enter upon the discharge of his duties as Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin. Mr. Cooper's chair was next to mine. I knew, of course, that his opinions in regard to the general currency question were the very opposite of mine, and I desired to avoid all reference to it; but just before the dinner was over, he made some remark about the money market, which was then stringent, which fact he attributed to the scarcity of money. I therefore could not help asking him if he thought that the best interests of the country would be promoted by a further issue of Government notes. "Undoubtedly I do, sir. What is wanted now to bring back the country to a really prosperous condition is an additional issue of at least two thousand millions of legal-tender notes." Coming as this remark did from a man of excellent business capacity, I was amazed by it. How such an opinion could be entertained by such a man was to me incomprehensible.

The canvass of 1876 was, as I have said, a vigorous one. Neither money nor effort was wanting on either side. Both sides were confident, but neither was so confident as to neglect the use of all the ways and means which were considered by the keenest politicians essential to success. The result was doubtful up to the day of the election; it was doubtful after the election was over, and to this day the question, Was Tilden or Hayes duly elected? is an open one. The first reports received in New York were so decidedly in favor of the Democratic ticket, that the leading Republican journals

admitted its success. The next day different reports were received, and both sides claimed the victory. In regard to the votes in all the States except South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon, there was no question. By the first decisions of the returning boards of these States enough votes were declared to have been given to the Democratic ticket to establish its success by a decided majority. These decisions were, however, changed, either as the result of more careful examinations of the poll-books, or the pressure of the contending parties upon the State officials, and it was soon well known that two election certificates from each of these States would be presented when the count before the two Houses would be made on the second Wednesday of February, and that the question which should be received as being the proper certificate must, then, in each case, be decided. The Constitution merely required that the President of the Senate, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, should open all the certificates, and that the votes should be then counted. It was silent in regard to the manner in which the votes should be counted, nor did it direct how questions which might arise in regard to the correctness of the certificates or the eligibility of the electors were to be decided.

The contents of the certificates from the States referred to were well known; and it was understood that the Republican members of Congress favored one set of certificates, the Democratic members another, and that neither would yield. The Republicans controlled the Senate, the Democrats the House, and there was no umpire. If the two Houses should meet when the votes were to be counted, it was quite certain that there would be no accord between them as to the manner in which the votes should be counted, and the certificates which should be received. The condition was critical. Anarchy might follow. There had been great excitement throughout the country from the time the first election returns were received, and this excitement was culminating as

the time for counting the votes drew near. Never since the formation of the Government, not even in the darkest days of the civil war, were there such anxious forebodings among thoughtful men as prevailed for some days in January, 1877. Fortunately Congress was equal to the emergency. By a bill which went through the Senate on the 25th of January by the decisive vote of 47 to 17, and through the House the next day by the equally decisive vote of 191 to 86, and which became a law the next day by the approval of the President, a commission was created to which all questions growing out of the election returns were to be referred, and whose decisions were to be final. Anxious people breathed freely again. A danger, the extent of which could not be foreseen, which threatened the very existence of the Government, was escaped by the creation of this commission. It consisted of five senators—George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton, Frederick T. Freylinghuysen, Republicans; and Allen G. Thurman and Thomas F. Bayard, Democrats; of five members of the House—Henry B. Payne, Eppa Hunter, Josiah G. Abbott, Democrats; James A. Garfield and George F. Hoar, Republicans; and of five justices of the Supreme Court, four of whom were designated in the act by the circuits to which they were assigned, to wit: Nathan Clifford and Stephen J. Field, Democrats; William Strong and Samuel F. Miller, Republicans. By the act, these four justices were to select the fifth justice to make the number fifteen. The Commission thus consisted of five Republican and five Democratic Congressmen, and two Republican and two Democratic justices. The interesting question upon which the result might turn was, which of the remaining justices would be selected to make up the complement. When the Electoral Commission Act was passed, the following were the justices of the Supreme Court: Morrison R. Waite, Chief Justice; Nathan Clifford, Noah H. Swayne, David Davis, Samuel F. Miller, Stephen J. Field, William Strong, Joseph P. Bradley and Ward Hunt. All

were Republicans except Clifford and Field, who were Democrats, and Davis, who before the war was a Democrat, but who had been a warm personal friend of Mr. Lincoln, and an ardent supporter of his administration, but an opponent of General Grant's. He was therefore regarded as being in politics an independent, and it was generally expected that he would be selected to be the fifth member of the Commission. It so happened, however, that after the act had become a law, but before any action was taken under it, he had been elected United States Senator from Illinois, and had resigned his justiceship. Justice Bradley was selected, and the Commission stood politically—eight Republicans to seven Democrats.

The judges of the Supreme Court are out of politics, and are supposed to be absolutely free from political bias and aloof from political influence, and such they undoubtedly are when acting in a judicial capacity; but the duties which these five justices were called upon to perform as members of this commission were not considered judicial. The questions to be examined and decided were questions for a proper understanding of which superior legal knowledge was not essential. It was a purely political proceeding, and everybody expected that the justices would be subject to the same influences that would be sure to control the action and votes of their associates. So strong was this expectation, that many Democrats did not hesitate to say, when they heard that Justice Bradley had been made a member of the Commission, that the game was up with their party; and so it turned out. The members of the Commission had been respectively sworn that they would impartially examine and consider all questions submitted to the Commission, and a true judgment give thereon, according to the Constitution and the laws; and yet every member of it—the justices as well as the Congressmen—acted and voted as political partisans. On every question on which the Commission was divided—and it was divided on every material question—the vote stood eight to seven. By

this vote the electoral votes of Florida were counted for Hayes and Wheeler, and so were the votes of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Oregon. With the votes of these States, and the votes which it had received in the other States, in regard to whose returns there had been no disagreement between the two Houses, the Republican ticket was elected by a majority of one. The certificates from all the States had been opened by the President of the Senate, in the presence of both Houses, and only those to the receipt of which objections had been raised, were referred to the Commission. On the second day of March, 1877, the counting of the votes having been concluded, Senator William B. Allison, one of the tellers on the part of the Senate, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, announced as the result of the footings, that Rutherford B. Hayes had received 185 votes for President, and William A. Wheeler 185 votes for Vice-President; that Samuel J. Tilden had received 184 votes for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks 184 votes for Vice-President, and thereupon the presiding officer of the Convention of the two Houses declared Rutherford B. Hayes to have been elected President, and William A. Wheeler Vice-President of the United States for four years from the 4th day of March, 1877.

This decision was quietly acquiesced in by the Democrats, but not without heartburnings, nor without the feeling, which continues to this day, that they had been cheated out of the Presidency. Whether the result would have been different if Justice Davis, instead of Justice Bradley, had been the fifth justice in the Commission, is a question that must always remain open. By no utterance of Mr. Davis was there ever an indication of what his action would have been, but he had a high opinion of Mr. Tilden, and his political sympathies were known by his intimate friends to have been on the side of the Democrats. Hence the prevailing opinion among the Democrats has been that if he had not been elected senator, Tilden

would have been President. The decision of the Commission at an early stage of the proceedings, by a vote of eight to seven, that the Commissioners were not authorized by the Constitution and the Act to go behind the returns that had been certified to by the returning officers of the State, and that no evidence could be received to impeach their correctness, indicated very clearly what the result would be; as by the certificates of the returning board from Florida, South Carolina and Louisiana, Republicans had been elected. In the Oregon case, there were two certificates; but the only question was in regard to the eligibility of one of the Republican electors, John W. Watts, which was by the vote of eight to seven decided in his favor. If the Commission could have gone behind the returns which bore the names of the State officials, they might have discovered that those from Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida were not true. If they could have gone further and examined into the manner in which the elections in those States had been conducted, they might have ascertained that a great number of Republican negroes had been unlawfully prevented from voting. My own opinion at the time was, and still is, that if the distinguished Northern men who visited those States immediately after the election had stayed at home, and there had been no outside pressure upon the returning boards, their certificates would have been in favor of the Democratic electors. This opinion was confirmed by a remark of the president of the Union Telegraph Company at the annual meeting of the Union League Club of New York in 1878. In a conversation which I had with him, I happened to speak of the election of Mr. Hayes; when he interrupted me by saying: "But he was not elected." "If he was not, the examinations of your office failed to show it," I replied. "Oh, yes," he rejoined, "but that was because the examiners did not know where to look." This was not said to me in confidence. My wife was with me, and he might have been heard by others who were standing near,

as he spoke in his usual tone. "Mr. Tilden," said a prominent Republican to me, a year or two ago—"Mr. Tilden was, I suppose, legally elected, but not fairly;" and this was doubtless the conclusion of a great many other Republicans.

But whatever may be thought about his election, it must be admitted that Mr. Hayes proved to be an upright, fair-minded, intelligent and conscientious President. In all respects his administration was an improvement upon the one that preceded it. He made some unwise appointments, of which that of Major D. G. Swaim, to be Judge Advocate General in place of William McKee Dunn, was the most objectionable; but they were exceptional, and his administration will bear a favorable comparison with those which have been most highly commended by the public. It has not received, even from the Republican press, the credit to which it was justly entitled. During the term of Mr. Hayes all branches of the public service were efficiently administered, and the country was unusually prosperous. By his political enemies, Mr. Hayes has been more violently assailed than any other President except Andrew Johnson; not, as far as I have observed, because he failed in the proper discharge of his duties as President, but because he accepted the Presidency. He has been stigmatized by leading public journals as "the fraudulent President;" but there has never been the slightest evidence that he had any agency in the alleged frauds by which his election was secured. It was not by his influence or advice that the Electoral Commission was created. By that Commission, which was created by the intelligent and patriotic action of both parties, he was declared to have been duly elected President, and he was under solemn obligations, not only to his party, but to the people without respect to party, to accept the office. In the then condition of the country, it would have been his duty to accept it even if he had doubted that he was legally elected.

My acquaintance with Mr. Hayes was limited, but I care-

fully observed his public career, and discovered much for which he should be commended; very little for which he should be censured. There is nothing in his record as President of which his friends should be ashamed, or which his countrymen should desire to conceal. His messages were well written; his public addresses were in good taste; his personal character was above reproach. The social and moral tone of the White House was never higher than when he was its master and his accomplished wife its mistress. If in the performance of official but social duties their temperance principles were too rigidly adhered to, the mistake was not one that lessened them in public estimation.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

First Impressions of England—The "Scotia"—Captain Judkins—The Cunard Steamship Company—The White Star Steamers—Opinions in regard to their Model—Steamships and Sailing Vessels—Changes in Commerce by Steamships—The "Britannia"—The "Enterprise"—The "Sirius"—Barges and Flatboats Superseded by Steamboats on Western Rivers—Iron Supersedes Wood in the Construction of Ships—The Battle between the "Monitor" and the "Virginia" renders Valueless the Navies of the World—Liverpool and her Docks—All Nations there Represented except the United States—Ride from Liverpool to London—Appearance of the Country—English Farming—Climate Favorable to Agriculture.

THE first impressions made upon me in regard to England, which I visited for the first time in November, 1870, were very favorable, and they were not impaired, but rather strengthened, during the five or six years that I lived there. I left New York, with my family, on the *Scotia*—the last, I think, of the English side-wheeled ocean steamers—on the 9th of November, 1870, and arrived at Liverpool on the 19th. Captain Judkins, who commanded the *Scotia*, was an excellent sailor; one of the surliest old sea-dogs in the service to those who asked questions, but one of the kindest and most communicative to those who did not trouble him, and especially to those who he expected would be liberal contributors to a benevolent institution in Liverpool in which he was deeply interested. The Cunard steamship line was the pioneer of the steamship lines between Europe and the United States. By the excellence of its ships and the tried seamanship of the officers (no one was ever intrusted with a command whose qualifications as a sailor and navigator had not been thoroughly tested) the Cunard Company obtained the distinction which it has in a large measure retained to the present day. It has not always been as enterprising in the way of

improvements as other lines, and its ships have, until lately, frequently been surpassed in speed, but never in strength, or in careful and skilful management. I have known some people, and heard of many others, who frequently cross the Atlantic, who will go on the ships of no other line. This company had for a time grave doubts as to whether ships of lesser width than the *Russia* and other ships of their line, would stand such severe storms as are frequently encountered on the Atlantic. These doubts were shared by a great many experienced navigators. I was in London when the first steamer of the White Star line left Liverpool, and I heard at the office of one of the marine insurance companies, the opinion expressed by a number of naval men that she would never reach New York. One man, who I understood had been a sailor, remarked in a loud and authoritative tone, "She is too narrow for her length—too narrow, sir, by thirty feet; no ship of her build can stand rough weather; she will break in two in the first storm she encounters." The fate predicted did not overtake her. She made many trips in all kinds of weather, with perfect safety, and her model was not only adopted for sister ships, but by other lines, including the Cunard.

In these days, time has become much more important than it was some years ago. Competition has reduced rates of transportation to such an extent that the saving by a steamship of one or two days' expenditure is a matter of considerable importance to her owners. When I left New England in 1833, ocean steamships were things of the future. All the productions of the United States which went abroad, then chiefly cotton and tobacco, were carried by sailing vessels, which were built to carry the bulkiest and heaviest cargoes without regard to speed. Such vessels were forty or fifty days in crossing the Atlantic, but as it frequently happened that as much as a penny a pound was paid on cotton from New Orleans to Liverpool, more money was made in a single trip by one of those vessels than is now made by steamships

in three. Vessels that would carry the largest cargoes were therefore in demand; not those which would make the best time. Baltimore had then the reputation of building the fleetest sailing vessels, and we used to hear a good deal about the Baltimore clippers. For what trade they were used, I do not recollect. Upon the discovery of gold in California, a number of clipper ships were built in New England and New York for speedy voyages to San Francisco. Beautiful ships they were—the most perfect specimens of naval architecture. Their day was short, but brilliant. No sailing vessels ever equalled them in speed, and in those lively days time was of importance, and on so long a voyage sailing vessels had great advantage over steamships, on account of the quantity of coal the steamships had to take with them. These clipper ships were profitable for a couple of seasons only. The construction of the Panama Railroad put an end to their utility, and they soon after disappeared from the ocean.

Of all the changes that have taken place within the last half century, none has been more marked and decided than that in ships. Until the Cunard Company, in 1840, sent their first steamship, the *Britannia*, of thirteen hundred tons, from Liverpool to Boston, sailing vessels built of wood had the command of the seas. There were, it is true, a few steamships constructed before that time. In 1819, the *Savannah*, with sails as well as steam, went from Savannah in Georgia, to St. Petersburg, stopping on her way out at England, and completing her run from St. Petersburg back to Savannah in twenty-six days; so that the honor of sending the first steamship across the ocean from the United States belongs to a Southern State. In 1825, the *Enterprise*, probably so called, went from England to Calcutta, and in 1838 the *Sirius*, of seven hundred tons, and the *Great Western*, of thirteen hundred and forty tons, came to New York from Liverpool. These, however, were experiments. Regular ocean traffic by steamships did not fairly commence until the establishment of

the Cunard line in 1840. From that time the construction of steamships went rapidly on, and traffic upon the seas went as rapidly from sailing vessels to steamers. The great motive power of the world, upon water as well as upon land, is steam. Upon the great lakes and upon the ocean its value is appreciated; but upon the rivers only can its great advantages be fully understood. Before I went to the West, and for some time after, the business upon the Mississippi and its tributaries was chiefly carried on by flatboats, which were floated down to New Orleans by the current, and broken up and sold for lumber after their cargoes had been disposed of; or by barges, which, after they had been unloaded at the levee, were towed back to their shipping points by watermen—a race that has long since disappeared. A whole season was consumed by these barges in a single trip down and back from the Ohio and upper Mississippi to New Orleans.

Steamboats, when they came into full play, changed all this, and opened for settlement a country as large as that which lies east of the Alleghanies. The ocean and lake traffic might have been carried on by sailing vessels, but upon no rivers, except the great rivers of South America, could sails be used. In our harbors one now sees a few sailing vessels, and here and there a three-masted schooner, which reminds him of the Baltimore clippers, but these are engaged in a coastwise trade, and are being rapidly superseded by small steamers. In 1876, the last time I was in Liverpool, I saw scarcely a single sailing vessel among the hundreds that filled her docks. The age is utilitarian; it is the most useful that is sought for, what pays the best is the *desideratum*. The sailing ship is a thing of beauty. Nothing to me is so beautiful as a full-rigged ship with all sails set, as she moves before the wind; but she has ceased to pay. A steamship is a thing of power. There is nothing about her which is beautiful, but she is time-saving, and hence her superiority over sailing vessels. Next to steam, iron and steel have been the great factors in the revolution of

the last half century in shipbuilding. Fifty years ago, vessels of all descriptions, naval as well as those that were used in trade, were built of wood. Now iron and steel are almost exclusively used. There are a few small sailing vessels being built of wood for home trade, but a wooden ship of war can only be seen among the hulks. The fight in Hampton Roads between the little *Monitor* and the *Virginia* sealed the fate of wooden war ships. What a revolution in shipbuilding that first contest between iron-clads produced! It literally made valueless the navies of the world, upon which countless millions had been expended. In itself considered, it was, in comparison with hundreds of other naval battles, an unimportant affair; but as I have said, by enabling the Government to maintain the blockade, it did much for the preservation of the Union, and by showing how powerless wooden ships would be in contests with iron-clads, it created a system of naval architecture in which all the commercial nations are now experimenting. Each is trying to construct ships that will attain the greatest speed, carry the heaviest guns, and resist the heaviest shot. How valuable they will be, will doubtless be proven in the next great European war.

I have said that the first impression which I received in visiting England was favorable. It could hardly fail to be so, as I landed in Liverpool, one of the most enterprising and interesting of European cities, and the greatest sea-port of the world. The bustle in the streets, and the activity which seemed to prevail throughout the city, reminded me of New York; but its streets were better paved, and although in actual growth it was not older than New York, its buildings seemed to be ancient and better built. But what impressed me most favorably was the docks and the shipping. The docks, unequalled in extent and massive strength by any in the world, affording the greatest facilities for handling goods, and protecting the ships that filled them against danger from storms, have been, and continue to be, the admiration of visitors. I saw nothing

in England that indicated more far-seeing intelligence and wisdom in expenditure, than the Liverpool docks. I was, however, most interested in the shipping—in the variety of flags that floated from the masts of the ships with which the docks were filled, without being crowded. It seemed to me that all important nations were there represented except my own. I was not disappointed in this, for I knew, of course, that the United States had ceased to be, what they were many years ago, a great maritime nation; but I could not suppress feelings of chagrin that in that great congregation of ships the Stripes and Stars were not to be seen. Commercial cities are to me more interesting than any others. There is a fascination in international trade—in the intermingling of men from nations remote from each other—in the brotherhood which is thus established between different races. There is something ennobling in a seafaring life. Sailors ought to be, and are, a superior class to the laborers in factories and in mines; and commercial cities, in the intelligence—the mental scope of their people—are of a higher and more liberal type than manufacturing cities. I was more interested in Liverpool than I should have been, if it had not reminded me of Boston as it was in my boyhood. Much larger it certainly was, but not larger than Boston seemed to me then. I shall not, and my children may not, see the United States a great maritime and commercial nation; but I shall live and die in the hope that it will become so at no very distant day. Aside from the docks and the shipping, I saw in Liverpool indications of the thrift which is always the result of well-directed enterprise and industry.

The ride from Liverpool to London was a short one, but long enough to give me a pretty correct idea of the English landscape, which, although there is in it much of sameness, is everywhere and at all times beautiful. It was after the middle of November, but there had been no killing frost. The foliage of the trees was yellow (it never has the brilliancy of color which is peculiar to the trees of the United States in

autumn), but the grass was as green as it is in spring. There were no visible fences to separate the fields, and no barns. A Pennsylvania farmer, in travelling hastily over England in autumn, would conclude that farming there is conducted on a very small scale, and that the crops are not well cared for. To him the evidence of extensive and productive farming is found in the size of the barns; according to his notions a farm without a large barn is not worth looking at, but if he should spend time enough to see how farming is conducted in England, he would discover that the lands are generally under good tillage, and that there is no neglect of their productions. Instead of barns he would see stacks so carefully and skilfully —I might say artistically—made that the rain does not penetrate them, in which the hay and unthreshed grain are as well protected as they could be under roofs; and he would discover also that the root crops under mounds in the fields are in as good preservation as they would be in stone-walled cellars. Nowhere except in the best-managed market gardens is the earth made to do its best; but in no country is there better farming than there is even now in England. I say even now, because there has been in late years some falling off in English farming, it having ceased to be as profitable as it formerly was.

It was predicted that the repeal of the Corn Laws would affect injuriously the agricultural industry of that country, but the prediction was not verified. The repeal of these laws opened wide the door for foreign importations of grain, but it stimulated the English farmer to greater exertion, and he was more prosperous after he was deprived of the protection which the Corn Laws gave to him than before. It is the immense increase in the production of wheat in California, in the Northern part of the United States, and in Australia, that has made wheat-growing—the most important of her crops—unprofitable in Great Britain. Wheat cannot be profitably raised by the British farmer, even with the low rates of labor

and the use of machinery, at the prices which it is now selling in Liverpool. The present low prices which prevail everywhere cannot, however, be of long continuance. Except where it is raised on a large scale, and chiefly by the use of machinery on fresh lands, wheat costs more than it now sells for. The low prices increase consumption and diminish production. Less and less land will, year by year, be cultivated in wheat, until it can be raised and sold at a profit. Its production has been stimulated by the fact that there is always a cash market for it at some price, which is not the case with other crops, and the soil and climate of the Pacific coast, and of the north-western Territories of the United States which have been recently opened, are especially adapted to its cultivation. These fresh lands rapidly lose their productive power. To be kept up they must be helped by fertilizers, which, situated as they are, will be expensive. Wheat, therefore, cannot long be profitably raised on these lands without an advance in prices. The climate and soil of England are, however, favorable to its production, and so great is the home demand, that if the lands were owned by those who cultivate them, and the taxes upon them were no higher than they are upon lands in the United States, it could, even at the present prices, be profitably grown, as the average yield per acre in England is nearly three times as large as it is in the United States.

Fertilizers are, however, expensive, and the land proprietors are turning their attention more than ever before to stock growing, in which England has always been in the lead. The United States are indebted to her for their fine herds of domestic animals. Our race horses and roadsters, our best milkers and beef cattle and swine, are of English origin. Some of them have not been degenerated by the change of climate, but every year there are fresh importations to prevent retrogression. For all we have in this line, except draft horses from Normandy, and some varieties of sheep from Spain, we are under obligations to the mother country, or to her adjacent

islands. Some of the European nations are also indebted to her for their stock. There is no healthier country for animals of all kinds than England; none superior to it for hay and root crops; none equal to it for grazing except the blue grass regions of Kentucky. The grasses in England seem to be peculiar in the fact that when being cured for hay they are not injured by rain. Good farmers in the United States never permit their hay to be wet, if they can help it. Some of the New England farmers not only try to protect it against rain, but they cover the cocks with tarpaulin to prevent the dew from touching it. But with all the care that can be exercised, the hay crop in the United States is frequently injured and sometimes almost destroyed by showery weather in harvest time. Not so is it in England. I saw in London as clean, bright hay, as free from mould and dust, as I ever saw anywhere, and yet there was not a ton of it that had not been rained upon when it was being cured. I spent a week with Mr. John W. Cater, the lessee of a fine crown estate near Barnet, who was not only one of the most intelligent business men of London, but who had a good knowledge of farming also. As I rode up to his house, I perceived a field in which the grass had been cut and was lying in wind-rows. It had rained the day before, and on that day, and on that account it could not be moved; and there were showers every day during my visit. The grass was in wind-rows when I first saw it on Monday; it was in wind-rows on Saturday, and I supposed that it was ruined. A week or two after I met Mr. Cater, and asked him how his hay turned out. "Oh, all right," he replied; "rain does not hurt hay in England." A country, thought I, in which the best grasses grow luxuriantly and are not injured by rain when being cured for hay, must be, for stock growing, one of the best in the world; and such England is. In this line she is not likely to be outrivalled. The wealth of Great Britain has not, of course, been largely acquired by agriculture. It is her manufactures and her ship-

ping, the enterprise of her people and the wisdom of her rulers, that have made her the rich and powerful nation that she is; but in considering her present and prospective condition, the productive power of her land is not to be overlooked. I have referred to English farming because I have always been, as Mr. Horace Greeley was, a farmer, a farmer of the same kind, and found use for what little money I had to spare in the cultivation or improvement of land. My expenses in this direction have always exceeded the income, but I have been amply repaid for my outlays, for no part of my varied life has been enjoyed so thoroughly as the small part of it which has been spent on the farm.

CHAPTER XXIX.

English Society—Introductions—Exchange of Cards—Primogeniture Unfavorable to Chivalry—Difference in the Manners of Society Grades—Aristocratic Exclusiveness—The Landed Gentry—Effect of Leaseholds upon Building—London a Well-governed City—Observance of Sunday—Paupers' Exchange—Condition of Workingmen—Conversation with a Policeman—Economy of the English—Station more Honored than Wealth—House of Lords—Esteem in which Noblemen are Held—The Throne—Queen Victoria—Her Family—The Prince of Wales—The Empress of Germany.

UPON English society I have but little to say. Enough has been said upon it by those who have had greater opportunities for observing it. There is little real difference, it seems to me, between what is called good society in England and good society in the United States. It is at the dinner table that the Englishman throws off his reserve and exhibits his true character; and I failed to observe anything at the table of the English gentleman, in the manners or style of either the host or the guests, to remind me that I was out of my own country, except that there were no introductions. The increased intercourse between the people of the two countries has produced some change in this respect, but I had been more than a year in London before, at a dinner party, I was introduced to any one (stranger although I was), except to the host and the lady whom I took down to the table, and yet some of the pleasantest acquaintances which I formed in London were at such parties. As I did not like to confine my conversation to the lady I took in, and still less not to be talking to any one, I invariably put my dinner card before my next neighbor, and took his or hers in return, merely remarking that I was an American, and hoped to be pardoned for the liberty I was taking. "I thank you," or "Thanks," was always the return

which I received for my self-introduction. One evening at the house of a distinguished merchant I happened to sit between two ladies—one I had taken down, to the other I had not been introduced. After a pleasant talk with the former, I placed my card before the latter, and took hers. She seemed surprised, but pleased. The ice was broken, and we were at once on pleasant terms. She was a handsome woman and a brilliant talker, and I had more than I could do to keep even with her. As we were about to separate, she said to me in an undertone, "I shall never forget your kindness in relieving me from that horrid man," glancing at the one who was sitting by her side and had taken her to the table. "That horrid man" (now deceased), was one of the most distinguished novelists of the day, whom I had met some years before in Washington, at the house of the British Minister, Sir Frederick Bruce. Primogeniture—the highest place for the eldest son—gives precedence to boys over girls, and tends to lessen women in the social scale. The deference which is shown to women by gentlemen in the United States, is not often witnessed in England. "That horrid man" could have made himself agreeable to the lady by his side if he had been so disposed; but in his intercourse with women he was thoroughly English, and his manner was displeasing to a highly cultivated lady. English gentlemen are not distinguished for their chivalry in their intercourse with the other sex.

Introductions are exceptional at receptions and other large assemblies, as well as at dinner parties. London is so large a city that a visitor may go to a score of such gatherings without meeting any one he has ever met before. I went, by special invitation, to a party given by a member of Parliament, who had been a frequent guest at my house. There was no one whom I could see in the throng that I had ever met before, except the host and hostess, and they did not take the trouble to introduce me to any one. The only exceptions to what seemed to me a want of good manners in this respect were in

the houses of the aristocracy. I took my daughter—a young girl—with me to a party given by a distinguished duke, at his interesting old mansion in Piccadilly. The lady who received with him was, I understood, his daughter-in-law, and three or four times during the evening she left her place at the entrance of the drawing-room to introduce me and my daughter to those whom she thought we would like to know. I noticed wherever I went that there was more ease and freedom—less of form and exaction—in the noble families (always excepting the royal head) than in those of lower degree. A knight—one who has taken the first step on the social ladder—is prouder of his rank than one who stands among those who are nearest to the throne. To address a knight without the "Sir" or his wife without the "Lady," would be an offense not readily forgiven. Not so is it with men of high station. "Mr. McCulloch, will you take my wife," said a distinguished earl, at a dinner which was given by him to me soon after I went to London, in recognition of the position I had held in the United States,—"Mr. McCulloch, will you take my wife to the table?" Had he been a knight, he would have said, "Will you take Lady ——— ?" The high honors which rest upon dukes, earls and lords, are easily borne: the honor of knighthood seems to be burdensome.

The English people are spoken of as a nation of shop-keepers; but in no country are shop-keepers so rigidly excluded from the society of wholesale merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, and other professional men, the landed gentry, etc., etc. There are in London hundreds of men engaged in the retail trade who are not only rich but highly cultured, and would shine in any company, who are never seen as guests in the houses of the classes I have named. If Mr. A. T. Stewart, distinguished as he was for intelligence and ability, had lived in London, he would not have been admitted into what is called good society. When the line was drawn, or for what reason, nobody seemed to know. The only explanation which I heard

was, that if retail merchants were admitted into such society, they might meet delinquent if not dishonest customers, which would not be agreeable to either of them. The aristocracy is a class by itself. Men of high titles meet those of lower station, in politics and for party purposes, on an equality; and some of them who like good dinners (there are few of them who do not) may be seen at the tables of those who are considered socially beneath them, but it is not expected that they will reciprocate.

To one who goes to England from a country in which no man is honored for his acreage, no matter how extensive it may be, few things seem more strange than the public respect that is paid to the owners or lessees of land. If he takes up a provincial paper, he will see in large type the names of the landed gentry in the neighborhood, and upon inquiry he will find that, with few exceptions, this gentry is made up of men who have no other especial claims to respect than that they are the owners or occupiers of land. The land in Great Britain is owned and controlled by comparatively few of its citizens, and the large estates are entailed. Very little land, therefore, is for sale; and prices are so high, and conveyances so expensive, that it is beyond the reach of men of moderate means, if the proprietors are able and disposed to sell. As an investment, land does not pay. The ordinary farming lands of England, Scotland and Ireland, do not yield two, perhaps not one, per cent. on their estimated value. Many large proprietors would be land-poor if their holdings were confined to agricultural lands; but they are the owners also of city and town property, from which their incomes are mainly derived. The incomes from these sources to many proprietors are very large, and are steadily increasing, as the leases made many years since, when ground rents were low, are constantly expiring, and extensions can only be obtained by lessees at prices which are in accord with present values. Not one landholder in fifty is an owner in fee. I knew but one man in London

who occupied a house (except the heirs, or original proprietors), who was not a tenant, and he was a distinguished American banker, who had succeeded after much difficulty in obtaining the fee to the lot upon which he lived.

This condition of the ownership of the ground would seem to be a drawback upon the growth of the city, but it is not. Rents are lower in London than in New York, and no city in the world, except some of the new cities in the United States, is increasing so rapidly in population and wealth as London. It does, however, prevent the erection of substantial buildings. To one who merely passes along the streets, London seems to be well built; but this is not the case, and for the simple reason that the buildings have not been erected and are not really owned by the owners of the land on which they stand. They are not as good as they look. The house in which I lived for three years, was the corner house in a row of stately buildings, but so thin were the walls above the first story, that the conversation in the drawing-room of the adjoining building could be heard distinctly in mine. I looked at some houses that were being built in the neighborhood, and were to be five stories high, and yet the walls above the second story were only nine inches thick. "Are not these walls too thin?" I asked a man who appeared to be superintending the work; "are not these walls too thin for such high buildings?" "They are rather thin," he replied; "but they will last as long as the lease, which runs out in fifty years." London houses are not only poorly built, but they are inconvenient. I speak, of course, of those which I saw some years ago. I examined a number on different streets at the West End, and all of them, including the one which I took, seemed to have been built so as to necessitate the employment of the largest number of servants.

But if London is not well built, it is a well-governed city. In returning from parties at late hours in the night, when my family were not with me, I always walked, and frequently

through the parks and streets that were only partially lighted, without ever being molested. A gentleman from Brooklyn, New York, who was troubled with sleeplessness, said to me that for months he had spent a good part of every night in the London streets, and he never felt that he was less safe there than he would have been in a country village. My conclusion in regard to the government of London was that in the protection which was given to persons and property,—in the carefulness with which the immense business in its crowded thoroughfares was conducted,—in the vigilance and yet unobtrusiveness of its police,—in the management of its public vehicles,—that in all these respects it needed little improvement. In the city proper, in which the large and most important business was conducted, the streets were so narrow that wagons in passing had no room to spare, and yet there were no outcries—no profane swearing and no confusion. Jams there were, but they could not be avoided, crowded as were the streets from morning to night; but nevertheless everything seemed to go on in perfect order. The police were always at hand when their presence was needed, and they never exercised their authority unnecessarily. The cabs and hansoms were under such control, that packages left in them were sure to be recovered. My niece remarked one day as she came into the house, that she had left her umbrella in the cab. "It is lost then," I said. "No," she replied, "I shall find it to-morrow at Scotland Yard," which she did, and she recovered it at the expense of a shilling. A lady dropped her purse containing a considerable amount of money in a hansom, and did not discover her loss until she had entered her own house. It was recovered the next day, with its contents undisturbed. All such things I noticed, and was most favorably impressed with them. Freedom and order seemed to go hand in hand. Nobody was interfered with who was not in somebody's way.

London cannot be seen to advantage when the streets are

crowded, as most of them are on week days. The only pleasant drives that I had in the city were on Sunday mornings when the shops were closed, all traffic suspended, and the great city was as noiseless as if it had been deserted. I rode, one Sunday morning three miles without seeing a single person on the streets except here and there a policeman. Later in the day, if the weather was pleasant, there would be movements—chiefly of the laboring classes—towards the parks, which are the great places of popular resort on that day, and which are occupied by as well behaved people, men, women and children, as can be found in the world. What surprised me on such mornings, was the cleanness of the streets, no matter how early I rode through them. Those which were the most crowded—on which were the small retail and huckster shops which were kept open until midnight on Saturdays, and were consequently well littered, were as clean the next morning as if they had not been used the day before. Sunday in London is—what it should be everywhere, but what it is not in any European city outside of Great Britain—a day of rest and relaxation. It is not only in the morning, but all day, a wonderfully quiet city. The churches are all open, but there are no loud ringing bells. They are well filled, but chiefly by those who live in their neighborhoods, and who go to them on foot. I ought to limit this statement to those outside of the old city (which constitutes a small part of London), for, with one exception, those in the old city are not well filled. The well-to-do people of London no longer live in that quarter; but there are a number of churches there which are kept open, and in which regular services are maintained, as valuable livings which belong to them might be forfeited if they were closed. I looked into one of them which was near the Royal Exchange, one Sunday forenoon, from curiosity. The rector was reading his sermon with considerable earnestness, but unless heads were hidden by the high backs of the slips, there were but six hearers. The exception referred to was the old

and beautiful church (St. Martin, I think it was called), which is a very rich church, and upon which every year a large amount of money must be expended in decorations according to the terms of the grant made many years before, the income from which could not be devoted to any other purpose. As there has been no improvement since Wren in church architecture or church decorations, this church is probably less beautiful than it was a century ago, but its history is interesting, and such pleasant associations are connected with it, and the rectors are usually so able, that its congregation continues to be large and respectable.

I have said that all traffic was suspended in London on Sundays. There were, however, two exceptions—the rag fair at St. Giles, and what was called the Paupers' Exchange, on a cross street between South Kensington and Exeter street, both of which were opened every Sunday forenoon. I never witnessed the former, but I stumbled upon the latter accidentally, and was so much interested in the proceedings that I was an observer of it a number of times. The street was narrow and the buildings with which it was lined were of the worst description, and swarming with inhabitants. The exchange was opened at 11 o'clock by some signal which the operators seemed to understand, and suddenly a large number of men and women, the majority of them from the lower and subterranean apartments made their appearance, with their arms full of all sorts of wearing apparel, which had been picked up during the week, and the traffic commenced. Each had something to sell or exchange, and sales and exchanges were made with great earnestness; but there was no noisy excitement, in which respect it greatly differed from the Stock Exchange. The language of the operators was unintelligible to outsiders, but it was well understood by themselves. A more unsightly set of people were never congregated under the sun than those who were thus engaged in a Sunday morning traffic. I asked an old man who was standing on the sidewalk near my car-

riage how long this traffic had been carried on at that place. "Indeed, sir," he replied, "I cannot tell you. Nobody knows." It seemed to me very odd that such a scene should be witnessed in the nineteenth century, in the most Sabbath-observing city in the world.

The workingmen of London are poorly paid in comparison with the workingmen of New York, but as far as I could judge they lived as well, or better. The reason for this seemed to be that rents and everything used and consumed in the families, except meats, were lower in London than in New York, and that the English workingmen were better managers and more economical than the workingmen of the United States. Having understood that the watchmen in London were receiving only a pound a week for their services, I thought that I would like to know how they managed to live on so small pay, so I asked a night watchman on the square where I lived if he had a family. "I have, sir," said he; "I have a wife and three children." "And can you live comfortably on a pound a week?" (In United States money, seventy cents a day.) "Yes, sir," he replied; "we've managed to get along so far, and as two of my children will soon be able to earn something, I am pretty well satisfied." "Will you tell me," I asked again, "how you manage to make both ends meet—you don't run in debt, I hope?" "Oh, no, sir, I never runs in debt; I knows just how much I am to get each week, and as the saying is, I cuts my coat according to the cloth. I cannot tell you exactly how much everything costs, but I can tell you what we do: In the first place we sets aside what we have to pay each month for rent; and next what we have to pay for coal;—we must have a roof over our heads and fire to cook with and keep us warm when the weather is cold;—then a few pennies are laid aside which go to the society, that will give us a decent burial; then we calculates just how much we can spend a day for food, and have enough left over for clothing, and a little besides. We usually have meat once and

sometimes twice a week, and always on Sundays, and we have plenty of potatoes and bread. The city furnishes me with two suits of clothes a year, and my wife buys the cloth for the other things I needs, and for her clothes and the children's, and she makes them up. I helps her myself, sometimes, about the housework." "You say," I remarked, "you have a little left over; what do you do with that?" "Oh, sir, that is put in the savings bank, so that we may have something to fall back upon if any of us gets sick." "Do you drink any liquor?" "No, sir." "Not even beer?" "Not often. I likes a glass of beer as well as anybody, but I might lose my place if I was often seen in beer shops, and I can get along just as well without it; besides, sir, I could not afford to drink beer if I wanted to." "A good many of your class," I said, "do drink it, and a good deal of it." "That is true, sir; and a good many of them dies in the almshouse." "Do you take nothing in these long, chilly nights?" "Nothing but tea, sir, which my wife makes for me. I takes a bottle of it in my pocket, and drinks that as I takes my rounds. It is a good deal cheaper, and I am sure it is a good deal better for me than beer." "One question more, and I have done; how is it about your children; you don't let them grow up in ignorance, I suppose? Who teaches them?" "They goes to the free school, sir; we have free schools now in London." I was a good deal interested in this man's story, which I drew out of him by questions. Here was a man supporting himself and his family on seventy cents a day, and yet hale, hearty and contented. Who are more entitled to respect than such men!

I have said that the workingmen of England were more economical than the workingmen of the United States, but economy in England is not confined to those who are compelled to practise it; it is a trait in the English character. There are no more hospitable people in the world than the English; none that spend their money more liberally in the support of public and private charities; but they spend noth-

ing for show, and for services rendered to them they pay no more than they think the services are worth. Rich Englishmen are frequently seen in second-class coaches on the Continent, and they never throw their money away as they think the Americans do upon porters and waiters at station houses. Americans, they say, have made travelling in Europe much more expensive than it used to be, and than it ought to be. One day at the Liverpool station I gave to the porter, for taking my baggage from the cab and placing it upon the train, a two-shilling piece. Just then another porter came along, with two or three large packages belonging to a wealthy young merchant who stood by me, and received for his services a sixpence, for which this porter bowed as humbly as mine did for four times as much. Everywhere I went I noticed that in all small matters the English were closer in their dealings, and altogether less liberal in their expenditures than Americans. Very little is wasted in England—none in France. A French village of three hundred inhabitants would live well on what is wasted in one of the large American hotels. If the food which supplies the people of the United States were properly cooked and none of it wasted, it would well support twice the number of people; and here I remark that nothing is more needed in the United States, and especially in the farming districts of the West, than good cooking. Nothing is more conducive to health and thrift than well-cooked food. Every girl, no matter what may be her station in life, ought to know how to cook. There should be cooking schools in all our towns and villages—they would not be out of place if they were in every school district. Happy homes would be more frequent than they now are in the United States if their mistresses knew how to instruct their cooks, although their circumstances might be such as to relieve them from doing it themselves.

I have said that everything, except meats, was cheaper in England than in the United States. There are no taxes upon

food and clothing, and sellers are contented with small profits. They do not expect to become suddenly rich; they are quite content if they are doing what will secure for them a moderate competency in a lifetime. Many Englishmen, by their superior abilities and forecast, have become rich, but none have acquired within the last twenty or thirty years such large fortunes as have been acquired in the United States. Very few have made money rapidly. It is true that the wealth of Great Britain has been enormously increased within the last half century—much more rapidly indeed than in any other country except the United States—but it has been widely distributed. If there are fewer millionaires in that country, there are comparatively more men with large, or at least satisfactory incomes, than in our own. Wealth is not worshipped in Great Britain, nor does it command respect there, no matter how acquired. No man who had betrayed his trust and compromised with his successor by the payment of millions of dollars, and made the amount which he still retained the basis of a colossal fortune, could have been admitted into good society in that country, much less could he have become prominent and respected. To rise there in the social scale is considered more worthy of ambition than to become rich. Wealth is a power in all countries, but it is not in England nor in any part of Europe regarded as the main thing to live for, nor is it a passport to a high order of society, as it seems to be in the United States.

The English people seemed to me to be happier—more contented with their situation in life—to take life easier, than any I had known. I did not see in their faces that careworn and anxious expression which is so common in the United States. The envied and the enviable people are, of course, the titled and landed aristocracy. There is no country in the world where rank is so highly honored and so justly merits the honor which it commands. It is either an honorable inheritance, or it is conferred by the Crown as a fitting recog-

nition of services in the army, the navy, in diplomacy, in the House of Commons, or for a high order of ability in civil life. In some instances it has been conferred for political purposes, as when private citizens have been made barons, to give the dominant party (which is for the time being the Government) additional strength in the House of Lords; but this has been exceptional, and when the authority of the Crown to make peers has been thus exercised, that it has never been in derogation of the high character of that House. Those who are of high rank by inheritance—the large landed proprietors—are very rarely degenerate. It is the boast of the supporters of the present form of the British Government, that the peers by inheritance, with a long line of distinguished ancestors, are inferior in no respect to those who from time to time are made peers by the Sovereign. Rank in Great Britain is honorable and justly honored. The House of Commons is the popular branch of the Government; the House of Lords, the aristocratic. In measures of reform, the Commons are expected to take the lead; but in the support of measures that affect the honor and welfare of the Empire, it is claimed that the Lords are no less earnest than the Commons; that in the slow but steady progress that Great Britain has made from the government of the few to the government of the many, in the successful efforts that have been put forth to root out the corruptions which in the last century existed in all branches of the public service, the Lords have done their full share. It is the conservative branch of the realm, and by the leaders of radical movements it has been charged with being in the way of progress, or at least indifferent to the rights of the people. In its defence it is contended that its conservatism has been used, not to prevent progress, but to hinder it from being too rapid to be permanent; that it has exercised its power so wisely that all steps for the improvement of the condition of the people have been without reaction; that it has been as much by the agency of the House of Lords as of the Com-

mons that there is no other country in the world in which life and property are better protected, in which taxes are less burdensome, and larger freedom enjoyed.

The House of Lords is peculiar in its construction. It is composed of archbishops and bishops, who hold their seats by virtue of their office; of English peers who hold by inheritance or by appointment; of Scotch and Irish peers who hold by election. Of the five classes, besides archbishops and bishops, into which they are divided, the dukes are the highest—the barons the lowest; and between these, socially, there is a very wide, if not insurmountable difference; and yet when in session they are upon a perfect equality. The standing and influence of members in the House of Lords, as well as in the House of Commons, depend upon their abilities, and not upon their rank. There is a prevailing opinion in the United States that a popular prejudice prevails in England against the House of Lords; but as far as I could judge, its members stand next to the Queen in the respect and admiration of the great mass of the English people. The House of Lords will exist as long as the throne exists, and it is not likely to be deprived of any of what are now regarded as its legitimate powers. Great Britain may become a republic, but it will not be until it is proven by the experiment in the United States that the people are not only capable of self-government, but that they are freer and happier under a republic than they can be under a limited and constitutional monarchy. In all the governments of which there is a history, republics have been exceptional and brief in their existence; the inference from which is, that monarchy in some form or other has been a necessity. If the experiment in the United States (for it cannot be claimed that it is anything more than an experiment—a hundred years being quite insufficient to test the strength and stability of republican institutions in a country so vast, so new, and with resources so enormous, and into which the surplus population of all other

nations is steadily flowing); if the experiment should be a failure in the United States, centuries will doubtless come and go before it is tried again on a large scale.

The House of Lords commands the admiration of the people because it is composed entirely of titled men, some of whom in rank stand next to the throne. To be appointed a peer is the highest honor that can be conferred upon a subject —an honor which is not often conferred except upon those who are justly regarded as being worthy of the distinction. To become a peer is to become ennobled. It is an honor earnestly desired, but never obtained by solicitation. Peers of distinguished ancestry, and their sons, seem to be regarded, not only by the masses, but by men of good social position and of more than ordinary intelligence, as being superior in blood. One day at the house of an eminent merchant, the conversation happened to turn upon the peerage. The host was well acquainted with many prominent peers and their sons, and it was soon apparent to me that the respect which he had for them was owing not only to their personal characters, but to their high station, and I ventured to say to him that I supposed that, like other Englishmen, he regarded them as being of better blood than men of inferior rank. "Yes," said he, "I do. You Americans believe that there is no difference in blood: that as good blood flows in the veins of a laboring man as in the veins of a prince; we Englishmen do not—we believe in blood—that the best is in the royal family, the next in the peers and their sons." It is the boast of genuine Englishmen that their great landed aristocracy has not become degenerate; that some of the purest and best men of the nation are always found in its ranks.

I have said that the peers, next in rank to the royal family, are next to it in the respect and admiration of the people. Loyalty to the throne is inborn in Englishmen; it has survived the severest tests. It was severely tried under the Henrys, the Charleses, and the Georges, but it was not uprooted nor

materially weakened. Loyalty to the throne has been maintained with very slight interruptions, no matter how unworthy or disreputable may have been the occupants. That it would now stand the strain to which it has been subjected in times past is questionable; but there is no probability that it will be tested again in that way as it has been. One thing may be regarded as certain: that while the form of government is not likely to be changed, no grossly immoral person will ever again long occupy the throne. In the present occupant, the British people have been exceedingly fortunate. They have had for fifty years a Queen of the very highest character, upon whose reputation as a woman there never has been a cloud, and who by the manner in which she has performed her official duties, has commanded the respect of every able man with whom she has come in contact. She has done much to improve the moral tone of English society; much to improve the character of foreign courts. The monarchs of Europe are of a higher type than they have ever been before; not intellectually, perhaps, but in their moral qualities. It would be too much to say that they have looked to her as an example; but it is undoubtedly true that her influence has been felt by them. Every crowned head in Europe is an admirer of Queen Victoria, and none can fail to be influenced by the qualities which he admires. Victoria is not only one of the purest of women, but she is one of the most sensible of Queens. An autocrat of autocrats, maintaining with great strictness the forms and ceremonies of royalty, she has favored all well-directed movements for the welfare of her people. She has never antagonized popular movements. She has her own opinions in regard to all important measures that are interesting to the public, and she expresses them to those whom she admits to her presence and desires to influence; but she never interferes with legislation, or attempts to bring her influence to bear directly upon Parliament. In sentiment and feeling she is a Tory, but she treats the leading statesmen of both of the great parties with

equal consideration. Disraeli was nearer to her heart than Gladstone, but the latter never had reason to complain of the manner in which he was received by her. While she does not study the details of all important measures which are before Parliament, there are none which do not receive her attention. She manifests her interest in Parliamentary proceedings by requiring a daily letter from the Prime Minister, and she never gives her approval to a bill without understanding its general scope. Her reign has been characterized by very important reforms in all branches of the service, for which she is entitled to credit; and while she has done much to relieve her subjects from unnecessary restraint, she has done nothing to lessen the influence or supremacy of the Crown. There is restlessness among her people, as there is among all free people, but the British throne never rested on a firmer basis than at the present time.

That the Queen, by her high character, her excellent common sense, the manner in which she has maintained the dignity of the Crown while sympathizing with all the movements that have been successfully made, during her long reign, for the improvement of the condition of her people, has done much to secure this result, there can be no question. She has been criticised for the infrequency of her appearance in public, and for the etiquette which she has enforced at Windsor and Osborne; but she knows, what her critics do not seem to understand, that royalty might lose some of its lustre by frequent exposure, and that etiquette is its necessary adjunct. Although she has kept herself aloof from her people, she has nevertheless popularized monarchy, and strengthened its hold upon the empire. She has been fortunate in her family. The death of her husband was a dreadful blow to her, and for a time it was feared it would seriously impair her usefulness and her health; but she never failed in the performance of official duties, and at the age of seventy her mental powers are unimpaired and she is physically stronger than most women of her

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age. Few women could endure, as she did, the physical strain to which she was subjected in the recent jubilee. Of her nine children, seven are living; all are above mediocrity; some are distinguished by their acquirements and artistic taste. The Prince of Wales is a very clever man. He was profligate in his younger days, and great fears were entertained that he would severely try the loyalty of the people. These fears no longer exist. He is now a social leader. Unostentatious and accessible, he still maintains the dignity of his rank, and there will be no letting down of royalty if he should survive his mother. Her oldest daughter, the Empress of Germany, is the most sagacious and talented of the women of high rank in Europe.

CHAPTER XXX.

Difference between the Government of the United States and that of Great Britain—Powers and Duties of the Crown—Appointing Power—House of Commons—Parliament more Democratic than Congress—Elections in Great Britain—The British Constitution—Speakers of the House of Commons and the House of Representatives—Henry Clay—Robert C. Winthrop—James G. Blaine—John G. Carlisle—N. P. Banks—James L. Orr—Schuyler Colfax—Samuel J. Randall—England as a Maritime Power—Ireland and the Irish—Character and Habits of the Upper Classes—The Scotch—A Protracted Dinner—Taxes not Burdensome.

THE differences between the governments of Great Britain and the United States, great as many without examination suppose them to be, are more of form than substance. They consist chiefly in the agencies employed. In what is essential to the welfare of the people, the two governments are very much alike. In some respects the British is practically the more democratic. Which is the freer and to be preferred is a question which an American, strongly attached to his own form of government, finds it difficult to answer satisfactorily to himself. In Great Britain there is an hereditary monarch; in the United States a President elected by the people. The monarch, at the commencement of its session, sends an address (which is understood to be prepared by the Prime Minister) to Parliament, in which the condition of the public service and the relations of the Government with other nations are briefly referred to, and this is about all. The monarch advocates no measures of public policy, and carefully avoids expressions that might indicate sympathy with either of the great parties into which the people of Great Britain are usually divided. The President sends a long and elaborate message to Congress, in which he presents, with the utmost freedom, his opinions upon all subjects of public interest, and advises the adoption of such measures as he thinks may promote the pub-

lic welfare. Elected by a party, and pledged to the support of its principles, it is expected by party leaders that he will administer the Government in the spirit of a partisan. The veto power is vested in the Crown, but for years it has never been exercised. This power is freely used by the President, and, although his veto can be overruled by a two-thirds vote of both branches of the legislature, there is scarcely a session of Congress in which the will of the people, as expressed by the legislative branches of the Government, is not thwarted by the Executive. In Great Britain the appointing power is in the Crown, but rare, indeed, is it that appointments are made by the sovereign, and no applicant for office would be admitted to the royal presence. In the United States all important offices are filled by the President, and there is scarcely a day in which he is not annoyed by office seekers, and for weeks after a presidential election, and especially when those who have been long the "outs" have become the "ins," the pressure upon him by applicants or their friends is so overwhelming that his position is burdensome in the extreme. No one who has not witnessed them can have any proper conception of the trials of temper and of the physical endurance to which a new President is subjected. If pledged to civil service reform by the platform upon which he was elected, the pressure upon him to disregard his pledge is often too strong to be resisted. If he is not so pledged, and is disposed to divide the offices among his supporters, he soon finds that in the distribution (there being so many more applicants than places), he cannot help making more enemies than friends. It is not strange, therefore, that intelligent Englishmen regard the hereditary monarchy as being preferable in this respect to one in which the chief executive is elected by the people.

But how is it with the legislative branches of the two countries? In which is there an exhibition of the greatest liberty? The House of Lords is an aristocratic body, in the constitution of which the people have no voice;—the Senate of the

United States is also an aristocratic body, the members of which are elected, not directly by the people, but by the State legislatures;—neither is a direct representative of the people. Men are members of the House of Lords by inheritance, or by royal appointment, in recognition of eminent services or high literary acquirements, and usually without regard to their politics. Men are elected to the Senate, not certainly without regard to their abilities, but invariably on party grounds, and not infrequently by the use of influences that would not bear exposure. In the House of Lords, a baron, by his superior ability, may have greater influence than a duke. The little State of Delaware, with a single member in the House, may have, by the superior ability of her senators, greater influence in the Senate than the great State of New York, with thirty-four members. A seat in the House of Lords is the highest honor that can be conferred upon a subject; a seat in the Senate, is next to the Presidency, the highest political honor that can be attained by a citizen. The House of Lords is the aristocratic and conservative body in Great Britain, and such is the Senate in the United States. It is about as great an honor in the United States to be a senator, as it is in England to be a peer.

The House of Commons is the direct representative of the British people; the lower house of Congress is the direct representative of the people of the United States. The members of the House of Commons are elected by the people, and there are restrictions in regard to membership which do not exist in the United States. No collector of taxes, no one holding a contract with the Government, no judge or justice, no clergyman of the English Church, can be elected a member of the House of Commons. No such exclusion from the House of Representatives exists. There are other differences in the legislative branches of the two countries. The members of the British Ministry, who constitute what is called the Government, must be members of the House of Lords or of the

Commons, and if one is a member of the House of Commons when appointed a minister, he must resign his seat and be indorsed by a new election before he can take the office. The members of the House of Commons are not elected for any definite period. Their tenure of office depends upon the existence of what is for the time being the Government, which usually goes out whenever it is beaten upon any very important measure. It is under no legal or constitutional obligation to do this, but such is the rule, and it must be obeyed as if it were a law. The actual Government of Great Britain is, in fact, a part of the legislative branch. Members of Congress are elected for two years, and hold their places for the full term. The members of the Cabinet in the United States are appointed by the President, and they hold their offices subject to his good pleasure. The Tenure-of-Office Act was intended to take from the President the power of their removal without the consent of the Senate, but that Act was undoubtedly in contravention of the constitutional rights of the President, and it has been substantially repealed. The members of the Cabinet, who are at the head of the seven executive departments of the Government, are not, and cannot be members of Congress, but they make to Congress reports of the condition of their respective departments, with such recommendations as they may deem proper. Members of the British Ministry make no such reports, as they are members of Parliament, and are supposed to be prepared to give all the information that may be required, and they are expected to advocate the measures which are approved by the Prime Minister. All revenue measures in Great Britain must originate in the House of Commons, as they must in the United States in the House of Representatives. It will thus be perceived that the difference between the legislative branches of the two Governments are not practically of much importance, and that, on the whole, Parliament in its membership is more democratic than Congress.

As far as I have been able to form an opinion, the elections of members of the House of Commons are as expressive of the popular will as are the elections of Congressmen in the United States. I think, indeed, the true conclusion is, that the English elections are the more fairly and honestly conducted. The vote in Great Britain is by secret ballot. The candidates have active friends at the polls; there is free discussion, but there is no violence; at least, there is none until after the polls are closed, when beer and whiskey have been freely imbibed. Bribery is not practised in any manner or form. If it should be shown that a successful member had been guilty of bribery, although a single vote only might have been thus secured, he would lose his seat, no matter how large his majority might have been. Money is, however, spent, and spent freely, by candidates (although members of Parliament receive no salaries), to cover the necessary expenses of the canvass; and the rule now is for the successful member to state upon honor the exact amount of his expenditures. In many Congressional districts in the United States none but men of means can afford to be candidates. The election expenses in most of the States have been steadily increasing year by year, and many a candidate spends more in his canvass than a member's salary. It is generally understood that in one or two States a goodly number of voters pay their taxes by their votes. Bribery, however, in the United States in elections, as well as in other matters, is now regarded as a crime, and it is one of the hopeful signs of the times that the public sentiment is in the process of a healthful change, and that bribers of all kinds are to be classed among the worst of criminals.

One hears a good deal of talk in England about the British Constitution, but if one should inquire for a copy he would be informed that there is no instrument by which the rights of the sovereign, the rights of the people, and the powers of Parliament are strictly defined; nothing in form like the Constitution of the United States; and yet there is a constitution

which is strong and binding upon all branches of the Government, and which is free from ambiguity. It has been of very gradual formation from the time of the Magna Charta; by concessions of the Throne, by acts of Parliament, and decisions of the courts. Its foundation was laid centuries ago. It has grown step by step, and each step has been marked by the progress of ecclesiastical and civil liberty. The Constitution of the United States, considering the circumstances in which it was formed and the purposes which it accomplished, may be regarded as a work of consummate wisdom, approaching more nearly to divine inspiration than any work of human hands. On some important questions, however, it has been differently interpreted by able and honest men, and amendments are not easily effected; while there is enough of elasticity about the British Constitution to meet the progressive demands of the people without a loss to civil liberty, or the invasion of established rights.

The Speaker of the House of Commons holds one of the most honorable and desirable places in the British Government. He is elected by the House from its own members, but his election is subject to the approval of the Crown, which, however, is never withheld. Although he is elected by the dominant party, and is in sympathy with it politically, it is expected that he will exercise his power with perfect impartiality, and that he will not use it to secure or thwart the passage of any bill which is before the House. No Speaker has for many years failed to justify this expectation. Not so is it in the United States. The Speaker of the House of Representatives not unfrequently uses—indeed, he is expected to use—the power which he possesses in the service of his party; and when parties are pretty evenly divided, it is considered a great gain for the majority to have a thorough, not to say, unscrupulous, tactician in the chair. The Speaker of the House in the United States can do much, without an absolute violation of the rules, to serve his political friends, to retard or

to advance the passage of bills; and it has been rare that there has been a Speaker whose politics have not been frequently indicated by his rulings. It is to the great credit of John G. Carlisle, the recent Speaker, that no one could discover by the manner in which he performed his duties whether he was a Democrat or a Republican.

The duties of the Speaker of the House of Representatives are much more arduous than are those of the Speaker of the House of Commons. To say nothing of the labor and knowledge which are required in the appointment of committees, the former has to give direction to much more real business than the latter, and to decide twenty times as many questions of all kinds. To preserve order, to prevent confusion, to decide correctly and promptly the numberless questions that are constantly arising, and to expedite business, require in the Speaker of the House of Representatives a ready knowledge of parliamentary proceedings, perfect self-possession, great facility and clearness of expression, and executive ability of the highest order. For ability as presiding officers, no Speaker of the House of Commons ever equalled such Speakers of the House of Representatives as Henry Clay, Robert C. Winthrop, James G. Blaine and John G. Carlisle; scarcely inferior to whom, within my recollection, were Nathaniel P. Banks, James L. Orr, Schuyler Colfax, and Samuel J. Randall. The difference in the compensation of the Speakers of the popular branches of the two countries is most extraordinary. The Speaker of the House of Representatives receives eight thousand dollars per annum, and a vote of thanks. The Speaker of the House of Commons, six thousand pounds (nearly thirty thousand dollars), and, unless his term is a short one, a peerage and a pension.

Nothing in English statesmanship has impressed me more favorably than the measures that have been taken to build up and sustain the merchant marine, not only for its direct profits, but as a reliable means of sending British goods into all parts

of the world. Great as has been the increase of British manufactures within the last thirty years, the increase in tonnage has been still greater, because British ships have not only been required for British trade, but for the trade of other nations. To stimulate shipbuilding the Government has granted subsidies to steamships, mainly by very liberal compensation for carrying the mails, by which British steamship lines have been able very largely to monopolize the business of the seas. Within the period named, British shipping has grown from about three hundred thousand tons to more than six millions. Now, while to increase and sustain the merchant marine has been the policy of the British Government, and is rapidly becoming the policy of other European states, the United States has made no effort to restore the shipbuilding interest, which was destroyed by unwise legislation and the civil war. Members of Congress who support a tariff to protect United States manufactures decline to give such encouragement to shipbuilding as would be the effect of a remission of duties on the foreign articles needed in the construction of ships, and a reasonable compensation for transporting the mails. Votes are what a majority of the members of Congress are looking for, and unfortunately there are few voters among the builders, the owners, and navigators of ships. Is it unjust to say that politics, not statesmanship, is in the ascendant in the United States at the present time?

I find it difficult to see in what important matters the rights of the people (with the exception of the Irish) are not as well secured, and the public interest as carefully looked after, in Great Britain as in the United States. The Irish question is so well understood that I have very little to say about it. That the Irish people have not been fairly treated is evident, from the fact that the population of Ireland has for years been steadily decreasing. Its climate is healthful; its soil is fertile; it has all natural advantages to make it highly productive; its people have strong local attachments, and yet the exodus

from it is constant, and if not now as large as heretofore, it is because there are fewer left at home. The cause of this ought to be thoroughly understood by the Government and removed. The prices of agricultural products are very much lower than they were a few years ago. Rents, therefore, should be correspondingly reduced or paid in kind. The Irish renters should not be at the mercy of the proprietors, the most of whom are non-residents. If Home Rule is not to be granted to the Irish, they should be relieved from the exactions and oppressions of all kinds that compel them to leave their native land. The English people are not a tender-hearted people; pity for the unfortunate is not a marked trait of their character; but their sense of justice is keen when it is not blinded by self-interest. That sense of justice is now more awake than it has ever been, and it will not be long before it thoroughly asserts itself in behalf of Ireland.

There are no men in the world superior in mental and physical power to the upper classes in England. Their educational advantages are of the highest order. Oxford and Cambridge stand at the head of literary institutions, and there are many others scarcely inferior to them. There are very few of the sons of parents who can afford the expense who do not receive a classical education, and those who belong to the classes referred to live more in the open air, ride more, hunt more, do more to develop physical strength, than the sons of corresponding classes in the United States. Such is the climate that they can healthfully eat more and drink more than the people of any other country. There has been, however, within the present generation, a great change in their manner of living. French cooking has superseded, in a large degree, the old English cooking. Heavy dinners are not now fashionable, nor is heavy drinking. The judges have passed away who could drink two bottles of port at a protracted dinner and be upon the bench the next morning, "as sober as a judge" ought to be. It is not often that respectable men, as was formerly

the case, finish their repast upon the floor of the dining-room. The Scotch—I am, as a Scotchman by descent, very sorry to say—have not improved in this respect as have their southern neighbors. The heaviest eating and drinking, and the most protracted dinners, are still in Scotland. Lord John Lawrence —an Irishman, by the way, who distinguished himself at the time of the great Indian mutiny, and was for a number of years Governor General of India, and subsequently a peer—used to tell the story of a friend of his, who, when in Scotland, called upon an acquaintance at his house between eleven and twelve o'clock in the morning. A servant met him at the door, and, in answer to his inquiries for the proprietor, was informed that he was at his dinner. "At his dinner! You don't mean that he is dining at this hour of the day?" said the inquirer. "Yes, he is, sir," replied the servant, "but it is his yesterday's dinner."

Although heavy drinking is no longer fashionable in England, there are few Englishmen of means who do not drink wine at dinner. Pure water is scarce in England, and very few drink it. I never saw anybody drink water at a dinner table in London, and at this I did not wonder when I learned from what sources it came. I lived at the West End, which was supplied with water from the Thames, whose continuous flow is through cities and towns and highly fertilized land. Such water I could not relish, and before many weeks I drank wine like an Englishman, but not, perhaps, quite so freely. The light French wines have, however, taken the place of port and other heavy wines that were formerly almost exclusively used, and the upper English classes may now be pronounced a temperate people. I dined sometimes with noblemen, but more frequently with bankers, lawyers, merchants, and literary men, and I never saw at the table, or after dinner, a man who was even excited by drink. The middle classes are also temperate, but not so is it with the laboring classes—by which I mean those who live by manual labor, very few of whom are like

the watchman of whom I have spoken. With rare exceptions, they spend a good part of their earnings at the gin shops, with which all the English cities, and especially London, abound. Mr. William E. Dodge, of New York, was shocked by the number of gin shops which he saw, and the people who frequented them. He saw, doubtless—what I think is never seen in New York—decent looking and decently dressed women standing at the counters drinking rum or beer. In my walk one evening I overtook three or four women, followed by as many young girls, and as I was about passing them, they stepped into one of the gilded gin shops on the street. This surprised me, as they were good-looking persons, and, after walking on for a minute or two, I could not help retracing my steps to see what they were doing. There they were—three women drinking—I could not tell what, probably beer or whiskey—at the counter, and the girls looking on! Gin shops are the curse of London; the cause of three-quarters of the degradation, the poverty, the crimes that are so abounding.

A good deal is said on this side of the Atlantic about the overtaxed—the tax-ridden people of Europe; but there are few countries, if any, in which taxes are higher than in the United States—State taxes and national combined. There are fewer still in which such taxes could be borne. In some of the States, the direct taxes paid to collectors upon property, real and personal, amount to nearly two per cent. on what is regarded as a fair valuation. The national taxes are indirect, and, although heavy, they are not complained of, and do not seem to be felt, because they are taxes upon consumption, and are paid by the consumers in the increased prices of the taxed articles which are consumed. They are, however, none the less real than they would be if they were paid directly to the collectors. Taxes upon imports are easily and cheaply collected, and always have been, and probably always will be, the most popular of taxes; but they are, nevertheless, the most unequal, and consequently the most

unjust of all, because the very rich people rarely pay more than those in moderate circumstances. Here is a man with an income of hundreds of thousands of dollars a year, and another with an income of five thousand, and yet of the goods subject to import duties there may be as large an amount used in the family of one as the other. We know in the United States what the public revenues by import duties amount to; but how much prices are raised by these duties—to what extent the burden upon the people is thus increased, cannot exactly be determined. We do know, however, that import duties are taxes, and that the amount collected at the custom-houses is far less than what is paid by consumers in the increased prices of the articles which are used. As far as I can judge, the taxes to which the masses of Great Britain are subjected are not only lower, but are more wisely placed than in the United States; lands are heavily taxed, and there are taxes upon wine and liquors, and upon incomes, etc., etc.; but taxes upon trade, upon commerce, upon manufactures, upon industry and enterprise, are judiciously avoided. I did not look carefully into the sources of the income of the Government, but as far as my observation extended during my residence in London, the taxes were not burdensome. The impression, I know, prevails in the United States that the British people are subject to oppressive and grievous taxation. If this were true, Great Britain would not be the nation she is—a nation whose ships are seen upon every sea and navigable stream; whose manufactured goods are found in every market under the sun. If her people were subject to oppressive taxation, they would not be the leaders in great and successful enterprises; her colonies would not "encircle the globe;" she would not be the greatest of naval and maritime powers, nor the richest of nations, with the possible exception of the United States. Taxes are needfully high in Great Britain to support the Government, to build and sustain the navy and army, and to pay the interest on her national debt; but, as I have said, they are so wisely placed as

not to be oppressive; labor and business do not feel them; no gainful branch of industry is hurt by them. What the people of Great Britain need more than anything else to become as free as the people can expect to be under an expensive and heavily indebted Government, is what I shall say a few words about farther on—free trade in land as well as in commerce.

CHAPTER XXXI.

The English People and the People of the United States—Mutual Learners—Tariffs of the United States—General Jackson's Proclamation—What a Federalist Thought of it—Need of a Commission like the Royal Commission to Investigate the Subject of Taxation—Liquor Drinking in England—English Deficient in Invention—Defective Patent Laws—Excellent Effect of United States Patent Laws—Local Government Needed in Great Britain—The British Debt—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright.

THE English people have learned much from the people of the United States; the people of the United States have learned much from the English. Both nations have been teachers and learners, and there is just now a matter of very great importance in which the United States should take a lesson from the mother country. No question for the proper comprehension of which much investigation was required has, for many years past, been considered by Parliament before it had been submitted for an examination and a report to a royal commission, composed of men of the highest reputation for uprightness and intelligence, who have had no personal interest to promote or to protect aside from the general interests of the nation; and seldom has it been that the report of such commission has failed to control the action of Parliament. The subject upon which the two great parties in the United States are most evenly divided, and which excites the deepest interest, is the tariff. It is a subject upon which great differences of opinion exist, because it is one in which important interests are involved; a subject in the discussion of which in times past bad blood and sectional feeling have been excited. It was the tariff question that at one time threatened the integrity of the nation. It had not a little to do in preparing the way for the late civil war. There

might have been severe trouble in 1832, when South Carolina undertook to nullify the Tariff Act, if a man like Mr. Buchanan had been President. It was prevented by General Jackson's proclamation against nullifiers, and the passage by Congress of the Force Bill on his recommendation. That proclamation was one of the most eloquent and powerful papers that has ever been issued from the Executive Mansion. I was at the time a student in Boston, in the office of Augustus Peabody, an old-school Federalist. When Mr. Peabody came into the office on the morning of its publication in Boston, he glanced at the newspaper containing it, and then handed it to me to read the proclamation aloud, which I did, while he, under great excitement, paced the floor. As I went on he could not restrain the expression of his delight, and when I had finished reading, he exclaimed with much feeling: "Mr. McCulloch, I never expected to hear true Federal sentiment from a Democratic President. Democracy will do well enough when everything is quiet, but when the country is in danger, nothing short of Federalism will save it." This celebrated proclamation is supposed to have been written by Edward Livingston, who was then Secretary of State, and who was regarded as one of the most eloquent writers and powerful advocates of the time.

The tariff question is as old as the Government, and yet it has never been for any considerable time satisfactorily settled. It has been always more or less mixed up with politics, and has therefore never been fairly considered by Congress. It is a question which can only be properly treated as a purely economical and revenue question, in the consideration of which the most thorough knowledge of the condition of the various industries of the country is required. A large part of the public revenue must, as has always been the case, be derived from import duties. How to regulate these duties so that they may yield the necessary revenue without depriving existing manufactures of incidental protection, and without injus-

tice to consumers and to the great agricultural interest which underlies all other interests, must tax severely the best intellects of the country. It is a work that can never be properly accomplished by a committee of Congress, because if the time and the intelligence for a proper investigation were not wanting, there would not be in a committee that freedom from party allegiance which is necessary for honest work. It is not too much to say that no Tariff Bill has ever been passed in the United States which was not subject to party influences, except the War Tariff Bill of 1862, and that no Tariff Act has ever been free from ambiguity nor from inconsistency, except, perhaps, that of 1846, the author of which was Robert J. Walker, Secretary of the Treasury, and which was the only bill which passed through Congress as it was presented, and which therefore escaped the manipulations which have distorted other Tariff Acts, and made them difficult of construction if not contradictory. That Tariff Act was less protective and more in conformity to a revenue standard than the tariff of 1842, and under it the manufacturing industries of the United States steadily increased and prospered. It remained in force until 1857, when the duties on many leading articles were materially reduced without prejudice to home manufactures. Nothing more was done with the tariff until the outbreak of the civil war, when a bill was passed which subjected imports of every description to very high duties. The object of this bill was revenue, which, in the then condition of the country, was of vital importance. This object it accomplished. It yielded, notwithstanding its protective character, enormous revenue, and at the same time stimulated manufacturing. It has not been materially changed, notwithstanding the changed condition of the industries of the country, and it is now injuriously affecting our foreign trade and some branches of domestic industry, and is yielding much more revenue than is required by the Government, large amounts of money being constantly idle in the treasury; so

that the time has come when a thorough revision of it is a political as well as financial necessity.

It is true that the necessary reduction of the revenue might be accomplished by removing the excise taxes, but no party, no matter how strongly it may favor high import duties for the protection they give to home manufactures, would dare to put upon its political banner free whiskey, while blankets and clothing of all kinds, and scores of other articles of indispensable necessity, are subject to heavy taxation. No party would do this, in the present and prospective condition of the treasury and country, and no party will long be able to resist what is becoming a popular demand—revision of the tariff. Now how shall this revision be effected so that the revenues may be reduced, and the reasonable requirement of the great mass of the people be complied with, which requirement is, not free trade, but a return to the principles upon which the early tariffs were based, duties for revenue, with incidental protection. No one contends that Congress has the constitutional right to levy taxes for the purpose of protecting the manufactures of the United States against foreign competition. All of our tariffs have been nominally made in conformity with the Constitution, which limits the power of Congress to raising by taxes the means required to support the Government, including, of course, the payment of its debts; but no one doubts that it lies within the discretion of Congress to place higher import duties upon some articles than upon others; to exercise such a wise discrimination as will, to a reasonable extent, sustain and benefit home industry. As long as the people are resolved that the Government shall be mainly supported by duties upon imports —by indirect, instead of direct taxes—there must be a tariff which cannot be otherwise than protective. To prepare a bill which will produce the necessary revenue, and give to manufactures the benefit of a discrimination in their favor not inconsistent with its main object, revenue, will require as I

have intimated, more time than members of Congress can give to it; freedom from personal interest and party bias, which cannot be found in that body; and an exact and comprehensive knowledge of the condition of the various industries of the country, which can only be acquired by the most careful and patient investigation.

A Tariff Bill might be prepared by the Executive, with the assistance of some of the able economists of the day, but no matter how wisely and fairly the work might be done, it would be regarded as a party measure, and condemned in advance by the opponents of the Administration. No party is likely again to have a reliable majority in both branches of Congress, and if it should have, it could not control Congressional action upon a subject like the tariff. Party ties are not as strong as they formerly were, and there may never be again, as was the case when Mr. Polk was President, a Congress which will be in harmony with the Executive upon this great economical question. It seems to me, therefore, quite certain, that the tariff will not be properly revised and made what it ought to be—a tariff that will yield the necessary revenue without fostering some important interests at the expense of other equally important, if not greater interests—that the great subject of taxation, in which Republicans and Democrats are equally interested, not as politicians, but as citizens, will not be taken out of the political arena, and treated as a business matter, without the agency of a commission, composed of men of acknowledged ability, who have no personal interest to serve—no political opinions to sustain—and who will bring to the work large experience, accurate observation, industry and zeal, and with all, the determination to serve, not a party nor a section, but the country, and the whole country. Unless the work is done by such a commission, there never will be a tariff that will not be the subject of unceasing contention, under which no important interest will be permanently prosperous or secure. We had, it is true,

a few years ago, a commission upon the tariff, which accomplished little, and from which little ought to have been expected, as every member of it had some personal interest to look after and protect. There is plenty of material in the country to constitute the right kind of a commission—one that shall be equal in every respect to the best which has done valuable work in Great Britain.

No fair-minded citizen of the United States can be long in England without seeing many things to excite his admiration; many important things in which she is the leader among the nations, which compel him to feel—strong as may be his attachment to the great Republic—proud of the mother country. He cannot, however, fail to observe that in some matters she is behind the United States, and that, in some respects, she seems to be so wedded to the past as to be unmindful of what is now required by her people, and of what is needed to place her in accord with the spirit of the age.

I have said that the upper and middle classes of Great Britain are temperate, and that the lower or laboring classes are the reverse. No improvement in the condition of the latter, however, can be expected as long as temperance is not considered by the higher classes to be a virtue and intemperance a vice, nor as long as the use of malt and other liquors is encouraged, as it seems to be by the Government, for revenue purposes. Whatever may be the condition of her other branches of trade, her liquor trade is always flourishing. No part of the British revenue is more reliable than that which is derived from the various branches of the liquor traffic. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in making up his annual budget, is always able to estimate, with the utmost precision, the amount of revenue to be derived from this source, and he would hesitate to recommend such high licenses as would shut up a large part of the drinking shops which are the curse of all the large cities, and especially of London, if he thought that the result would be diminution of the revenue. As long as the

subject is regarded in this light, there will be very little temperance reform in Great Britain.

The British people are far behind the people of the United States in invention. It seemed to me, when I was in England, that all the labor-saving machines upon the farms and in the shops were invented in the United States. The inventive faculty was stimulated in the early settlement of the western part of the United States by the scarcity of hand labor; but the great stimulus to invention has been the facilities for obtaining patents, and the protection which our patent laws have extended to inventors. I had occasion to look into the patent laws of Great Britain, and my conclusion was that, if they had been framed to prevent rather than to encourage invention, the object could hardly have been better accomplished. There were no thoroughly educated examiners—no tribunals competent to decide, and whose duty it was to decide, upon the merits and the novelty of what were claimed to be inventions or discoveries. Patents were issued to all applicants who could pay the high Government charges, although patents might have already been issued for the same invention, or for one in which the same principles were involved.

One of the wisest things that was ever done by Congress was the creation, under the direct grant of the Constitution, of a bureau in one of the departments at the Capitol, to be under the charge of a commissioner and examiners of high legal and scientific knowledge, from which patents could be obtained which would secure to the patentees for a certain number of years the full benefit of their inventions. By the examiners of this bureau all applications for patents are carefully investigated, and none are granted unless originality of design is clearly established. The questions submitted to the examiners are frequently difficult and complicated, and mistakes may be made by them; but a patentee has a reasonable assurance that his patent invades no other, and that it covers

an invention or discovery the right to the use of which is exclusively his own.

There are many intelligent men on the other side of the Atlantic who doubt the wisdom of patent laws, but no one has witnessed the operations and the results of the patent laws of the United States without discovering that not only has invention been greatly stimulated and great rewards secured by inventors, but that the whole country and other nations have been benefited thereby. The patent laws of the United States have not only stimulated inventive talent, and been largely instrumental in the advance which the world has made during the present century through the agency of labor-saving machines, but they have been of immense service in international intercourse and scientific investigation. Inventive talent needs something more substantial than honors to bring it into full exercise, and this is found in the profits which are secured to successful inventors by our wise patent laws and their faithful administration.

In local governments Great Britain is sadly deficient. There may be in the United States too much legislation—in Great Britain there is certainly too little. Parliament is the only law-making power, and Parliament has no time to give to the consideration of many matters which, although local, are of great interest to the citizens. What is needed in Great Britain is Home Rule, not only in Ireland, but in Scotland, Wales, and even in England; by which is meant local governments, with law-making powers, subject to the approval of Parliament, which should have in regard to all local matters such power as is possessed by the States in the American Union. The age is progressive, and Parliament has enough to do to look after great national and international interests.

What surprised me a good deal while I was living in England, was the complacency with which the enormous debt of Great Britain was regarded by the generality of Englishmen. By some it was not looked upon as being in any

degree, a public burden. In the estimation of others there were compensations connected with it which more than balanced its burdens. Very few, like Mr. Gladstone, seemed to regard it as an encumbrance upon the property of the nation, from which it ought to be relieved, even at the expense of increased taxation. Those who did not regard it as a burden, gave as a reason for their opinion that the nation during its existence had largely and rapidly increased in population and wealth, and that large as had been the increase of it during the present century, the national income had more than kept pace with it. Such men, it seemed to me, did not trouble themselves to consider that Great Britain might possibly have reached the summit of her prosperity and power, that with the United States and Belgium as great competitors in manufacturing, and with other nations striving to share with her the business of the seas, she might find it difficult to maintain her present position as the leader in commerce and manufactures; and that she might at any time be involved in war which would make further loans necessary. There are undoubtedly some compensations in a national debt. Securities bearing interest are very desirable for private incomes, and none are regarded with more favor by investors than those of the Government under which they live. Such a debt may even tend to strengthen rather than to weaken a Government, by the manner in which it binds to its support, the holders of its security; but it ought to be remembered that it is not the business of a Government to supply facilities to investors, and that if it be well administered it will never stand in need of any such preserving influence as may be afforded by a national debt. There can be no reasonable doubt that a national debt is a national burden, for which there can be no substantial counterbalancing compensations.

During the last thirty years, the most of which have been prosperous years to Great Britain, her national debt has been but slightly reduced. It may now be regarded as a perma-

ment debt, and more likely to be increased than diminished. Peace between the continental nations may not long be maintained, and in future contests between them, Great Britain may not be able to remain neutral as she did in the recent war between France and Germany. If, however, she should escape all foreign complications, her debt can never be paid or substantially reduced without a radical change in her economical policy. The revenue which she receives on the few articles which are subject to import duties, is not likely to be increased, and neither Liberals or Conservatives will ever be disposed to increase direct taxes to pay or to lessen the national debt. No large national debt has ever been practically reduced—none certainly has ever been paid—by direct taxation, and I think it may be said with equal certainty that none will be. This much must be said in praise of the United States Tariff Act of 1862, that by the high duties which it imposed, and the taxes on whiskey and tobacco, etc., etc., more than one-half of the United States debt has been paid, and that the reduction is still rapidly going on. This might also be said, that if no other means than direct taxation had been resorted to, the late civil war would not have been prosecuted by the Government to a successful termination, or that the debt created by it would be a debt like that of Great Britain—a debt never to be paid or even lessened. To people who are afraid of direct taxes, indirect taxes seem to have no terrors. In fact those that are paid in the increased cost of what is used are not by many regarded as taxes. A man who pays fifty dollars more for the articles consumed in his family than he would pay if there were no import duties, may not feel that he is thereby taxed; but if instead thereof he were compelled to pay half that amount directly to the collector, he would complain of taxation. It is by indirect taxation, chiefly import duties, that the debt of the United States has been paid thus far, and in the opinion of those who believe that import duties are needed for the protection of home

industry, these duties, instead of having been burdensome, have been conducive to the prosperity of the country. Some years ago, a prominent citizen of Philadelphia was ridiculed for expressing the opinion that "a national debt was a national blessing," but in what respect did he differ from those who regard the high duties by which the debt is being extinguished, as being promotive of the best interests of the country.

I have said that the national debt of Great Britain would not be paid without a radical change in her economical policy. There is no probability that such a change may be brought about. The statesmen of that country do not regard indirect as being less burdensome than direct taxation, and they believe that import duties, by lessening her exports, would be prejudicial to her home industries, as well as to her foreign commerce. Believing, as I do, that the national debt is the reverse of a national blessing, I have, while that debt was large, and might be dangerous to republicanism, looked with favor upon the tariff of 1862. That tariff, however, has accomplished all that was contemplated by it. It yielded a large revenue when that was absolutely required for the life of the nation; it has, with the excise taxes, reduced the public debt to such an extent than it can under no circumstances be troublesome; and having served its purpose, it should be reduced substantially to a revenue standard.

To a citizen of the United States who believes in homes for the many, and free homes at that, with very light taxes on small holdings, nothing in Great Britain seems so needful as a distribution of her landed property—such a distribution as has taken place in France. This could in a very large degree be accomplished by cutting off entails, and putting an end to primogeniture. If land were held in Great Britain, as it is in France and the United States, by absolutely free ownership, and when not disposed of by will would descend in equal parts to the children or other heirs, the distribution would, to a considerable extent, speedily take place. Ownership of land in

Great Britain carries with it distinction, because it is so difficult to obtain. If the door were once opened to free descent, land would soon be classed with other property, and be valued by what it would produce. Great Britain largely depends for bread and meat upon other nations, and yet there are hundreds of thousands of acres of land in that country of very limited acreage which are used only for deer parks and game preserves, not for profit, but for the pleasure of those who control them, and their guests, and from which everybody else is excluded. Large estates and land monopoly are said to be on the increase in Great Britain, and they will continue to be until the laws regulating entails and establishing primogeniture are repealed. Both are feudal and unnatural; both are inconsistent with the progressive sentiment of the age, and with the best interest of the State. The British people move slowly in the way of reforms, but they do move. Entail and primogeniture will, without doubt, at no remote day, be among the things that are past. The succession to the throne could be regulated and secured without primogeniture, and the existence of the House of Lords need not in any measure be dependent upon it, or upon entail. I heard both spoken of by conservative men as being relics of absolutism, from which the country ought to be —and at no remote day would be —relieved, strong as the attachment to them then seemed to be.

The two Englishmen in whom the people of the United States have been for many years the most deeply interested are William E. Gladstone and John Bright. To the latter the Union people of the North became strongly attached by the kind sentiments which he expressed for the Government during the civil war, so different were they from the expressions of most prominent Englishmen. To the former the people of the South felt that they were indebted for his sympathy for them in their efforts to establish a Southern Confederacy. The tables are now turned. Mr. Gladstone is a favorite with the North as well as with the South,

and Mr. Bright has no hold upon either. There is throughout the United States a prevailing opinion that the people of Ireland have not been fairly dealt with, and that their claim for Home Rule is just and reasonable, and ought not to be denied. Mr. Gladstone is their English champion, and by being so he retains the hold which he had upon the good feeling of the people of the Southern States, and has established himself in the good graces of the Northern. Mr. Bright, on the contrary, has taken a stand against Home Rule for Ireland, and is therefore no longer in sympathy with the people of the Northern States, while his unpopularity with the people of the South remains unabated. Perhaps, however, neither can be charged with inconsistency. Mr. Gladstone is in favor of Home Rule for the Irish because he thinks they have the right to it, and would be benefited thereby. He thought if the people of the Southern States desired to establish an independent government, that they had the right to do so, and ought not to be prevented by force. Mr. Bright being a Quaker, was, in principle and by education, a hater of slavery, and he understood better than Mr. Gladstone did, that slavery was at the bottom of the sectional differences in the United States. He was, therefore, opposed to the establishment of a government of which slavery was to be the corner-stone, and he thought there was no just right which the Southern States might not secure as well in the Union as out of it. He is opposed to Home Rule for the Irish, not because he does not think that the Irish people have been badly treated, nor because there are no wrongs to be redressed, but because he thinks they have not shown themselves to be capable of self-government—that neither the persons nor property of Protestants would be properly treated if Home Rule should be established, and because he believes that there are no wrongs of which the Irish people can justly complain which would not be redressed by Parliament if they were presented in the right spirit.

Mr. Bright is a Liberal, and has heretofore been the personal and political friend of Mr. Gladstone. He must, therefore, have passed through a severe ordeal in the separation which has taken place upon a question which seems to involve liberty and right. The two men are, however, naturally different, and they have been subjected to different influences. Mr. Bright is just and upright from principle, but he is not progressive by temperament, and the influences to which he has been subjected have not tended to change his character in this respect. He is a Quaker, and Quakers are not apt to be political reformers. He does not think that even right should be obtained by force, and he has no sympathy with the Irish ardor which leads them into acts of violence. He is thoroughly loyal to the throne, which, as at present occupied, justifies the loyalty of all Englishmen, but he would not advise forcible resistance to its authority, no matter how oppressively that authority might be exercised. He is, of course, opposed to any forcible resistance to acts of Parliament, unjust although he may regard them.

Mr. Gladstone is progressive by temperament and from principle. He broke away from the conservatism for which he was distinguished in his early career to become a leader of the Liberals, an earnest advocate of all measures which have since been adopted by Parliament for the improvement of the condition of the people. He is an ardent believer in progress, and he is never at rest. No sooner has one advance step been secured than he is ready for another. Finality is not in his creed. If the Irish question should be settled in his day, old as he may be, he will be ready to undertake some other measure which he may think will advance the public welfare. He will not need to buckle on his armor, for he never takes it off. In power or out of it, he is a most energetic and persistent worker. He is a member of the Established Church, but he is supposed to favor disestablishment. He is known to be tolerant. He believes in free religion,

and that religious truth stands in no need of Government support. He believes that the Government should exist for the benefit of the many, and that hereditary rights which are inconsistent with the public welfare should not be considered as being beyond Parliamentary control. He does not think that immense tracts of land should be used for no other purpose than for game, nor that the larger part of the lands of the kingdom should be held by a few proprietors and cultivated by tenants. He may not live long enough to be instrumental in bringing about changes in Church government or land ownership, but he has put influences in motion that may be retarded, but will not be suppressed, by his death.

Mr. Bright has acted, throughout his public career, in conformity with his principles as a member of the Society of Friends. He has always been in favor of peace—peace at any price. He criticised the Government severely for joining the French in defending Turkey against the armies of Russia. He opposed the war with China; he has been opposed to all foreign conquests, and he has favored the reduction of the army to a peace establishment.

Mr. Bright is a man of great intellectual power. He is not a classical scholar, but no man in England has ever spoken the English language with more clearness and force. He is what very few Englishmen of the present day are—an eloquent speaker. His speeches at the hustings and in Parliament are among the ablest and most captivating that have ever been made in England. This is somewhat singular, as he was not trained to oratory and has not been engaged in literary pursuits. He has been a manufacturer—the head of a large cotton-spinning firm—and would seem to have had limited opportunities for study. He has always been an advocate of free trade, and he did as much as any one, except Mr. Cobden, to effect a repeal of the Corn Laws. It was a severe and somewhat protracted struggle which the opponents of the tax upon breadstuffs had with the landed aristocracy, and their triumph

was doubly gratifying by the fact that the result, contrary to the predictions of the Conservatives, was an increase in the value of agricultural lands, and stimulation of trade of all descriptions.

Mr. Gladstone is in many respects the most remarkable man of the age. His career has been brilliant and commanding from the commencement. His father, a wealthy merchant, gave to him the best of educational advantages, which he improved by winning at Oxford the highest honors. At the age of twenty-three he became a member of Parliament; at twenty-five he was a Junior Lord of the Treasury; at thirty-two he was a member of the Privy Council and Master of the Mint. During this period he was not only doing a very large amount of official work, but he was a popular writer upon a great variety of subjects. Up to his fiftieth year he was a Conservative. Since then he has been a leading Liberal. At the age of forty-three he became the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which office he displayed financial knowledge and ability which placed him at the head of British financiers, where he still stands. In the elucidation of financial questions, and in the practical management of financial matters, he has never been surpassed. A good part of Mr. Gladstone's life has been spent in the performance of high official duties, and so pressing must these duties have been, that one cannot understand how he could obtain the knowledge he has displayed in the scores of books and pamphlets which he has written upon a greater variety of subjects than have ever engaged the attention of laborious students who have nothing to do but to study and to write. His memory is perfect—his working power prodigious. Amid the pressing cares of official life he has even found time to devote to the relations between the State and Church, to careful study of Homer and the Bible, and of other subjects quite different in character from those which have required his attention in the discharge of public duties. Strictly scientific subjects he has avoided,

and he has not been, perhaps, as deferential as he ought to have been to the scientific men of England. Whether it is for this reason, or because he believes in the Mosaic account of the creation, that he has incurred the ill will of many scientists who have spoken of him in bitter, if not contemptuous terms, is best known to themselves. His reputation as a financier has never been assailed. Of his scholarship he has given ample proof. Many men have studied the English language more thoroughly, but no man has ever equalled him in the facility of using it. Diffuse he sometimes is, but never ambiguous. No man has made more enemies than Mr. Gladstone—none is more hated by those whom he opposes—but no one has such control of popular opinion. He is the greatest political leader that England has ever produced. He is not personally magnetic; he has few warm friends; but no man has ever equalled him in the extent or duration of his influence. For half a century he has been the most prominent and influential of English statesmen. His power has never waned; it is to-day as great as it ever was.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Second Appointment as Secretary of the Treasury—Treasury Officers and Clerks—President Arthur more Fortunate than any of his Predecessors who Succeeded to the Presidency—Mr. Tyler—Mr. Fillmore—Mr. Johnson—Mr. Arthur's Successful Administration—His Ability and Tact—His Cabinet—William E. Chandler—Robert Lincoln—President Cleveland—Manner in which he has Filled a Very Difficult Position—His Ability and Independence.

I HAD no desire to enter again into public life, even for a short period, but I was nevertheless gratified when President Arthur came out to my house in the country, a short distance from Washington, one afternoon in October, 1884, to inform me that Mr. Gresham had resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury to become a Circuit Judge of the United States, and to request me to take his place and help him close up his administration. I was still more gratified by the favorable manner in which my appointment was spoken of by the press, as it seemed like an indorsement of my management of the Treasury from 1865 to 1869. I was glad to see among the faces of the officers and clerks who called at my office on the morning that I entered upon the discharge of my duties as Secretary, a number of familiar faces, although nearly fifteen years had passed since I had left the Department. I shall always hold in kind and grateful remembrance, the men who served with me while I was Comptroller of the Currency and Secretary of the Treasury, in a very interesting and trying period of our financial history. An immense amount of work was done in that Department during the civil war and for some years after, and although it was done by men who had to learn as they worked, the record shows that it was fairly well done.

The same may be said in regard to the other Departments. Faithfully served as the Government was in the field, it was no less faithfully served by the officers and clerks in the public offices in Washington. There were among them men holding subordinate positions who were competent to fill the highest; men whose services could not be dispensed with without detriment to the Government; such men as would in Great Britain be retired with a pension when they were no longer able to perform their necessary work, instead of being turned out, as many have been, to give place to hungry applicants.

The highest pleasure that I had during the short period that I held the office of Secretary for the second time was in the intimate acquaintance which I formed with President Arthur. I had known him as Collector of Customs in New York, and as a sagacious politician, but I was not prepared for the ability and tact which he exhibited when he became President of the United States. That high office is a very difficult one to fill by men who have been elected to it; it is much more difficult for one to fill it who succeeds to it by being Vice-President. Mr. Tyler became President by the death of President Harrison; Mr. Fillmore by the death of President Taylor; Mr. Johnson by the death of President Lincoln, and Mr. Arthur by the death of President Garfield; and, singularly enough, the succession in each case commenced soon after the commencement of the Presidential term, so that each of the Vice-Presidents who became President by virtue of his office, was at the head of the Government for nearly four years. All except Johnson were Whigs or Republicans, and each except Johnson was succeeded by a Democrat—Tyler by Polk, Fillmore by Pierce, Johnson by Grant, and Arthur by Cleveland. Of Mr. Arthur it can be said, as it cannot be said of either of the others, that he maintained good relations with his party throughout his entire term. Those between President Tyler and the Whig party were

severed before the expiration of the first year of his administration. Throughout the rest of the term, he was strongly opposed by the party by which he was elected. Mr. Fillmore was true to his party, but his rigid interpretation and execution of the Fugitive Slave Law dissatisfied and alienated a good many Republicans, and although he was a very able and upright man, who had done good service to his party and the country in Congress, and excelled as an executive officer, his Administration could hardly be called a successful one. Mr. Johnson, although well known as a Democrat, was highly esteemed by the Republican party when he was nominated for Vice-President, but he and the party were not long in accord.

Mr. Arthur was little known out of his own State when he was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. The nomination, which was entirely unexpected by the country, was made to palliate the dissatisfaction which had been caused among the Republicans of New York by the nomination of General Garfield for the Presidency, and there was a good deal of misgiving among the prominent men of the party when he became President. He had not, however, been long at the head of the Government before he commanded the confidence of his party and the respect of the opposition. His administration was distinguished, as few have been, for fairness, elevation of tone, and freedom from extreme partisanship. He had held no prominent office but that of collector of customs, which he resigned on account of a disagreement between himself and the President and Secretary of the Treasury upon some question about appointments. He had been educated in the New York school of politics, the cardinal doctrine of which was "to the victors belong the spoils," and he conducted the collector's office on that principle, while its business was performed in a manner satisfactory to the Government and to the merchants. All of his predecessors who succeeded to the Presidency as he did were well known to the country. One

had been a Governor, and had ranked high as a United States Senator. Another had filled a number of offices with credit, and as a member of Congress had attained great distinction for his industry, his statesmanship, and his unbending integrity. The last had been for many years a senator, and had distinguished himself, although a Southern man, by his devotion to the Union. It would have been difficult to find two men (to say nothing of Mr. Johnson, about whose qualifications there were differences of opinion) better fitted by culture, by experience and knowledge of public men, and of the political and economical condition of the country, than John Tyler and Millard Fillmore, and yet by neither was there as much practical ability or sagacity displayed as by Mr. Arthur, who had none of their advantages; whose knowledge of the public men of the nation was very limited, and who had never made politics, in the highest sense of the word, a study. It was with great diffidence that he entered upon the discharge of his high duties; but his self-distrust begot carefulness, and he was content to administer the Government as he found it. Day by day his hold upon his situation became firmer, and in a few weeks he was master of it. His position was a very trying one, not only for the reasons that have been named, but by the fact that he had been a very active politician in New York, and had used men for political purposes who expected to be rewarded for them by the patronage which was at his disposal. The claims of all such men were disregarded. They became very pressing, as I had good reason for knowing, towards the close of his administration, but Mr. Arthur paid none of his political debts in New York at the expense of the Federal Treasury or to the detriment of the public service. I did not know which most to admire—his firmness in resisting their importunities, or his tact in retaining their good will, notwithstanding his refusal to comply with their urgent requests.

Mr. Arthur, during his administration, attempted no feats

of diplomacy. His recommendations to Congress had been carefully considered, and they were presented in a manner that compelled the respect of Congress, although few of them were favorably acted upon. His administration throughout was characterized by a high order of ability and by devotion to the public welfare. If any one of our Presidents merited a second term, he did. Had he been nominated he would doubtless have been elected, as the opposition to him would have been less savage than it was against Mr. Blaine. He might have lost some votes that were given to Mr. Blaine, but he would have secured a great many that went to Mr. Cleveland. His Cabinet was a respectable one. I had not met any of the members except Mr. Chandler and Mr. Lincoln, before I became an associate, but I formed a good opinion of all of them. Mr. Chandler I have before spoken of. Mr. Lincoln in no wise discredits his parentage, and he will not, if he should be called to the high place which his illustrious father filled with extraordinary wisdom.

It is only just to say of President Cleveland that in the self-command, the independence, and the executive ability which he has displayed he has exceeded the expectation of his political friends and disappointed his political enemies. Until he was nominated for Governor of New York in 1882, he was little known even to the people of his own State; outside of it he was scarcely known by anybody. His acquaintance with public men was more limited than Mr. Arthur's; his educational advantages were not of a liberal character, and yet it must be admitted by his opponents that he has filled the office with dignity—that he has performed his high duties with intelligence, that he has been straightforward in his actions, and that he has not sought popularity by swimming with the current. Few men in his position would have vetoed as he did, Pension bills which must have been hastily passed, or passed for party purposes. He knew that he should make no friends, and would probably make many

enemies, by his vetoes of many of them, but upon careful examination, he discovered that they were not meritorious, and he therefore withheld from them his signature. He may desire, and doubtless does desire, a re-nomination (Mr. Hayes was the only President who was content with a single term), but I have been unable to see any indication of it in his official acts or unofficial conduct. Whatever else may be said against him, he can never be charged with being a demagogue. By Republicans he is charged with not being governed by the Civil Service Act; with making removals and appointments contrary to its letter and spirit. On the other hand, he is severely criticised by many Democrats for not making a general sweep. He has undoubtedly made mistakes in the exercise of his appointing and removing power, but the wonder should be (all things considered) that he has not made more. To disregard entirely the claims of party in the distribution of patronage, demands an independence of party fealty, and a disregard of party obligations, which no President has ever felt, or ought to feel. How far to go in yielding to the claims of his party, without disregarding the higher claims of the nation, is an exceedingly difficult question for a President to decide, and if Mr. Cleveland, under the pressure to which he has been subjected, has yielded more to his party than should have been yielded, he ought not to be regarded as being greatly at fault by the advocates of civil service reform. That Democrats, educated in the old school of politics, should charge him with lukewarmness to his party because he has not removed more Republican office-holders, is natural; censure on this ground was rather to be coveted than avoided by him.

No man should be nominated for the presidency whose qualifications are not unquestionable, nor one who has not rendered important service to the country in civil or military life. It certainly could not be said of Mr. Cleveland, when he was nominated, that his qualifications were beyond ques-

tion, or that he had rendered very valuable service to his country; but it cannot be denied that he has discharged his manifold duties with singular independence and marked ability. The Republic has received no detriment by the election of Grover Cleveland to the presidency.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Changes of a Half Century—Effect of Machinery upon Labor—Contests between Capital and Labor—Demoralization Produced by War—Increase of Violence—Decline in the Standard of Honor—Newspapers in the United States a Half Century Ago—The "Galaxy" of Boston—The "Evening Post" and "Courier and Enquirer" of New York—The "Intelligencer" of Washington—The "Gazette" of Cincinnati—The "Journal" of Louisville—The "Herald" and "Tribune" of New York—J. T. Buckingham—William C. Bryant—James Watson Webb—Joseph Gales—Charles Hammond—George D. Prentice—James G. Bennett—Horace Greeley—Personality and Impersonality in Journalism—Increase of Federal, and Decrease of State Authority—Daniel Webster's Opinion upon the Legal-Tender Question—Decision of the Supreme Court—Henry Clay and the Tariff.

THE greatest change which has been made in the condition, not only of the United States, but of the world, has been by the invention and use of machinery. Fifty years ago, work of all kinds was done by hand; now it is chiefly done by machinery. There is scarcely a branch of industry which is not now mainly carried on by it. Labor-saving machines are everywhere—in sitting-rooms, in kitchens, in shops, in factories, in ship-yards, in printing offices, and upon farms. The chief employment of hands seems now to be, not in doing work, but in directing machines. The heaviest and coarsest work, as well as the most delicate, is done by this agency; ships are being built by machinery as well as watches. The result of all this has been rapid increase in individual and national wealth; in activity and enterprise; progress in all directions. To all this there is apparently one great offset—machines, in diminishing the need of hands, have been prejudicial to labor. They have cheapened all articles for use or consumption, but they have lessened the present value of men.

Handicraft has been to a large extent destroyed by them; large capitalists have been enriched, but men of small means have not infrequently been ruined by them. Manufacturers on a small scale cannot compete with those who manufacture on a large one. Even the farmer, whose acreage is not large enough to justify the purchase of machinery for sowing and securing his crops, cannot afford to sell at as low prices as his neighbor who does almost everything by it. The labor of the world is being revolutionized. The whole system of political economy is in derangement. Manufacturers unite to prevent overproduction, and keep up the price of manufactured goods by restricting production. Laborers combine to keep up the price of wages. Contests are going on between capital and labor in all countries, and they are the most serious where there is the greatest freedom. Hitherto, capitalists have had the best of the contest. Whether this will always be the case is doubtful. Laborers have never been as united as they are now. If all the laboring classes should be harmonized and act together in the United States, they would be able to dictate terms to capitalists, if not to govern the nation. The outlook is not pleasant, but there is no cause for discouragement to those who believe that there is sufficient power in republican institutions for the settlement of all questions, political and economical, without injustice to capitalists on the one hand, or to laborers on the other. The ultimate effect of labor-saving machines must be to place labor on a higher level, but while the process of accommodation is going on, there will be disturbances and contests. The trouble for the time being is serious, but not too serious to be overcome by wise counsels and time.

Other changes have taken place, and within a recent period. War is always demoralizing. Our late civil war, although its results have been highly beneficial in removing all causes of sectional discordance and establishing the united Government, as it is hoped, for centuries to come, has not been without untoward influences. There is less regard for human life than

there was thirty years ago—more lawlessness and disorder. Acts of violence are more frequent in the United States than in any other country in the world. There are more men who carry deadly weapons—more men with pistols in their pockets—in the little city of Washington, than in the great city of London. They are not carried for self-defence, and they would not be needed by anybody if carrying them was prohibited, as it should be, by law, and the law was efficiently executed. Nor are violations of the law so certainly punished in the United States as in other countries. "Around the gift of freedom" the safeguards of law are not as severely drawn as the welfare of society imperatively demands. The standard of honor in business is not as high as it was in my younger days. Wealth is more honored now than it was then, and the means by which it is acquired is less scrutinized. Men who have been enriched by gambling (speculation it is called) seem to have as high social standing as those who have acquired wealth in branches of productive industry. Official dishonesty—dishonesty of all descriptions—has more than kept pace with the growth of the country. These evils, however, are not so deeply set as to be beyond correction. They will be corrected before they become too strong to be uprooted, if the Anglo-Saxon spirit continues to be socially and politically in the ascendant.

Newspapers, in number and contents, have much more than kept pace with the growth of the country in population. It might be safely said that in the last half century the number published in the United States has been increased twenty-fold; the reading matter forty-fold; while the cost to their readers has been very largely reduced. Nothing has been more wonderful (little as we think about it) in this wonderful age, than the change which has been brought about in the record of current events, by steamships and railroads, and especially by the telegraph. For many years after I went to Fort Wayne, in 1833—the news which was there received from the sea-board was from ten to twelve days old—that which came

from the other side of the Atlantic was fifty or sixty. Now the morning papers in all parts of the country record the important events that occurred throughout the world the same day or the day before. Indeed, so much is the telegraph ahead of the earth, in its diurnal revolution, that the events in the Eastern hemisphere are known in the Western, according to Western time, many hours before they occur. To know what important things have happened the day before in all parts of the civilized world, one has only to take up a daily newspaper; and if he wants interesting reading enough to keep him employed a good part of his time, he needs only to subscribe for one of our large dailies. But while all this is true, it cannot be said that there has been improvement in the character of journalism in the United States, by which I mean improvement in the intellectual ability with which the newspapers are conducted. The newspapers of all our large cities abound in evidences of enterprise; they are full of interesting matter; they have wide-awake and able editors and reporters; but none can be said to be conducted with superior ability to that which was displayed in the *Galaxy* of Boston, the *Evening Post* and the *Courier and Enquirer* of New York, the *National Intelligencer* of Washington, the *Gazette* of Cincinnati, and the *Journal* of Louisville, which were the leading newspapers in 1833; or in the *Herald* and *Tribune* of New York, which appeared a few years later. The newspapers of the day are not more ably conducted, perhaps I ought to say more ably edited, than were those I have named, because abler writers—men of more varied intelligence, are not found in any country than were Joseph T. Buckingham, William C. Bryant, James Watson Webb, Joseph Gales, Charles Hammond, George D. Prentice, James G. Bennett, and Horace Greeley. They have all passed away, but they gave to journalism in the United States a character which is not likely to be excelled. All of them were men not only of large acquirements, but of great mental vigor, and they impressed the jour-

nals which they conducted with their own personalities. They had in most cases able assistants, but the leading articles in all these journals always bore the distinguishing ear-marks of their distinguished editors.

Every reader of the Boston *Galaxy* knew that the keen, the witty, the sarcastic leaders were from the pen of Buckingham. The perfect English, the elevated tone, the breadth of thought, the extensive knowledge which characterized the columns of the *Evening Post*, indicated the master-hand of Bryant. The impress of Webb was manifest in the vigor, the independence, the boldness, not to say arrogance, with which the *Courier and Enquirer* was for a long time conducted.

Joseph Gales, although his brother-in-law, Seaton, was associated with him, was in fact *The National Intelligencer*. It had a name to live for a few years after his death, but a name only. Mr. Gales was the best informed man in the political history of the country, and one of the best political writers, of the day. He was an intimate friend of Daniel Webster, who was in the habit of consulting him upon questions of great public interest. All such questions were discussed in the *Intelligencer* with as much ability as they were in Congress by its ablest members; indeed, some of the most noteworthy speeches in both houses were regarded as having been inspired, if not actually prepared, by Mr. Gales.

I was a good deal surprised to see, soon after I went to Indiana, two papers—one published in Cincinnati and the other in Louisville—which came fully up to the highest standards of those in the Eastern cities. The Cincinnati *Gazette*, while under the charge of Charles Hammond, was conducted with very great ability, and extraordinary fairness. Mr. Hammond was an ardent and conscientious Whig, but he never descended—he was incapable of descending—to the low level of a political partisan. The present editors, wise and experienced as they are, would do well to turn for guidance in sharp political contests to the files of the *Gazette* between 1833 and 1840.

George D. Prentice made the Louisville *Journal* the most captivating newspaper of the times. The selections from his editorials made a volume which contained more original and witty paragraphs than any other book in the English language. Mr. Prentice was more than a wit—he was a man of extensive learning, excellent judgment—patriotic to the core. Thoroughly imbued with the lofty spirit of Mr. Clay, whose biographer he was; true to the Government, notwithstanding the unfavorable influence to which he was exposed, he exerted potent influence in preventing the secessionists from capturing the State at the outbreak of the rebellion.

James Gordon Bennett created the New York *Herald.* It was fashioned and molded by himself; it breathed his spirit; it took with the masses because it harmonized with their prejudices. Mr. Bennett never undertook to be a teacher in morals or politics. His aim was to make the *Herald* a paper which should present to its readers the earliest intelligence of what was going on in all parts of the world, and thus to obtain for it a circulation which would secure the largest amount of advertising. In this he was entirely successful. It has undoubtedly been the most profitable newspaper in the United States. It was not, while its founder was living, nor has it been since his death, a strictly party paper. Never the steadfast supporter of any political organization—never the earnest advocate of any political doctrine—it has always been ably conducted and full of interesting intelligence. It has been just what its founder intended it should be—a great newspaper. It is understood that Mr. Bennett, the present proprietor, who bears his father's name, does not often appear in its columns.

As the *Herald* was the creation of James Gordon Bennett, so was the New York *Tribune* the creation of Horace Greeley. No other editor ever impressed his personality upon a newspaper as Mr. Greeley impressed himself upon the *Tribune.* Mr. Greeley was the *Tribune*—the *Tribune* was Mr. Greeley.

There was no impersonality about it as long as he had the control of it. He had able assistants, but the leading articles were mostly from his pen, and when they were not, they were instinct with his spirit. No halting policy, no half-way measures, were ever tolerated by Mr. Greeley. In everything he undertook he was earnest, and whatever may have been, in many instances, his lack of wisdom, no one had reason to doubt his sincerity. He was certainly unwise in the opinion which he expressed just before the outbreak of the civil war, that the Government was not worth preserving if it could only be preserved by force. He seemed to fail to perceive that if, as he advised, the "erring sisters" were permitted to "go in peace" slavery, which he abhorred, would not only be perpetuated in the States in which it existed, but would be introduced into Mexico; that peaceable secession would be followed by wars between the separated States, which would exceed in fierceness those which have so frequently deluged European States with blood. He was unwise, after the war was commenced, in advising the generals in regard to the manner in which it should be conducted, and in his "On to Richmond!" cry. He was unwise in failing to give to the Administration cordial support in the most trying period, because, in his opinion, President Lincoln hesitated longer than he should have done to proclaim freedom to the slaves. But his want of wisdom was most signally manifested in accepting a nomination for the presidency by Republicans who were dissatisfied with the administration of General Grant, approved and indorsed as that nomination was by a Democratic Convention. All of these mistakes were, however, more than counterbalanced by his wise and excellent course and action in other matters. He was an ardent advocate of temperance and of social reforms; an unswerving friend of the laboring classes; an enemy of oppression in whatever form it appeared. Zealous in whatever he undertook, truthful and sincere, he made the *Tribune* a paper of vast and healthy influence. The

respect which he commanded—the hold which he had upon the people, high and low—were manifested at his funeral, which, by the numbers of real mourners who were present, and their unmistakable sorrow, was the most impressive that had ever been witnessed in New York.

American journalism has never been of a higher character than when the leading newspapers were under the control of the men I have named. Since then the personality of conductors of newspapers has to a large extent disappeared, and this has lessened both their attractiveness and their influence. One reads with more pleasure a good article which has been written by one whom he knows personally, or by reputation, than he reads an article equally good from the pen of one of whom he has no knowledge; and there is an influence in personality of a high order which is strong and healthy. The impersonality of the writers gives to newspapers greater liberty than they would have if the writers were known, but it is too frequently the liberty of defamation. It opens wide the door for the indulgence of bitter personalities. If the writers were known, political newspapers would not teem with personal abuse, which discredits them in the estimation of all fair-minded men. Although the prominent political newspapers of the United States are conducted with great intellectual ability, and as newspapers are of the highest character, they are not, in political contests, as influential as they ought to be, because they misrepresent and frequently grossly misrepresent, the characters of candidates for office. A stranger who should read our political newspapers for some weeks before a Presidential election, would conclude that the candidates on both sides were utterly destitute of the qualities which ought to be required as indispensable for the highest office in the Government—men of a very low order of honor and ability. Very few people read political newspapers for truthful descriptions of candidates for any important offices for which there is sharp competition. All this, I am sure,

would not be the case but for the impersonality with which these newspapers are conducted.

Nor is impersonality confined to political newspapers. It is sometimes resorted to by writers for magazines who have malice to gratify without personal responsibility, of which the following is an illustration: Ex-Senator Thurman, of Ohio, one of the ablest and most upright men that this country has produced, upon whose reputation for honesty and truthfulness there is not a stain, in a recent speech, thus spoke of the President: "I have seen a good many Presidents in my long life. I have read the history of the administrations of all, and I have known several of them personally. I have seen and I know, and I think I know him full well, Grover Cleveland, our President of the United States; and on the honor of a man who is bound to tell you the truth, if ever a man was bound to tell the truth to his fellow men, I don't believe that a more honest, braver, truer man ever filled the presidential chair of the United States. He is more than that; he is a man of far more ability than people who don't know him may suppose. He has that supreme faculty, the best of faculties, which we designate by the term good sense. If he is not a level-headed, common-sense, honest man, then I am no judge of men." Mr. Thurman has been a life-long Democrat, and may therefore be supposed to regard with favor the President whose administration he supports; but there are a great many Republicans who, like myself, have never voted a Democratic ticket, who would not be disposed to qualify very much, if at all, this high indorsement of Mr. Cleveland. And yet, under the assumed name of "Arthur Richmond," in the April, 1887, number of the *North American Review*, the writer of an article bitterly assailing James Russell Lowell, denounces the President as a man "who had never uttered a word for his country, nor lifted his hand in her defence higher than a hangman's rope—a man of brutal manners, of stolid instincts, of vulgar associations, a stranger to polite society, a man who,

in the language of another, is but a wooden image of dull self-sufficiency and cold stolidity; as incapable of receiving impressions as of returning warmth." This is the description, by an anonymous writer, of the man whom Mr. Thurman indorses so highly—the man who was elected Governor of the Empire State by an unprecedented majority, and who performed his duties with so much independence and ability that a great party turned to him as the man who would lead it to victory in the presidential contest.

Would such an article as that from which these passages have been extracted have appeared in the *North American* if the editor and proprietor had required the real name of the writer to be attached to it? I trow not. Most of the writers for that magazine write over their own names. Why was not the true name put to that diatribe against the President, whom a large majority of true Americans hold in high esteem? Was it not because of its vindictive personality and shameful untruthfulness.

This reference to the *North American* leads me to a few words about its early life. If I rightly recollect, it is the only survivor of the United States magazines which existed in my boyhood. When I left New England, in 1833, its editor and proprietor was Alexander H. Everett. For five years before he took charge of it, it had been edited by his younger brother Edward, who was a liberal contributor to it for many years after. For ten years every number contained one or more articles from one or the other, sometimes from both, of these distinguished men. From this fact, those who did not see the magazine at that time, can judge of its character. Alexander and Edward Everett! Extraordinary men were they both. Precocious in early life, it may truthfully be said of them that they never ceased to be precocious. Alexander graduated at Harvard College with the highest honors at the age of fourteen; at seventeen he was attached to the legation to Russia; before he was thirty he wrote a work of so great

value, that it was translated into the German, French, and Spanish languages; and at thirty-three he was Minister to Spain. When, therefore, he took control of the *North American*, he had established a very high reputation as a scholar and writer. His brother Edward, no less distinguished for his scholarship, was his superior as a speaker. I have heard the opinion expressed by competent judges, that Edward Everett, as an accomplished orator, has never been surpassed. At the age of nineteen he was the pastor of the Brattle Street Church of Boston, which numbered in its congregation many of the most highly cultured men of Boston. His subsequent career was in the highest degree honorable. Under the editorship of the Everetts, the *North American* obtained great celebrity; it was known and recognized abroad, as well as at home, as a magazine of the highest character. It is consequently not discreditable to the *Review*, at the present time, that it does not come up to the high standard to which they raised it more than a half century ago. Its only discredit is the fact, that it is permitted to be the impersonal vehicle of personal malice or ill will, of vindictive attacks upon such a man as Grover Cleveland, who fills with credit the highest place in the Government, and such a man as James Russell Lowell, who honors his country by his high character and superior scholarship and talents, who stands in the front rank of the honorably distinguished men of the world.

That the Government of the United States is stronger and more imperial in its character than it was half a century ago, is manifest to all who are familiar with its history. Within this period the Federal authority has been greatly augmented, and the authority of the States has been diminished. The States' rights doctrines as they were advocated and believed in the slaveholding States, and by many Democrats of the Jeffersonian school in the free States, received a death blow by the civil war and its results; while by liberal construction

of the Constitution by the courts, and the general course of legislation, the tendency towards federal centralization has been increased. I will mention two instances which illlustrate this tendency.

Daniel Webster, who was styled the "expounder of the Constitution," who was admitted on all hands to be the ablest of constitutional lawyers, uttered the following language in 1836:

"Most unquestionably there is no legal tender in this country, under the authority of this Government or any other, but gold and silver, either the coinage of our own mints or foreign coins, at rates regulated by Congress. This is a constitutional principle, perfectly plain, and of the highest importance. The States are expressly prohibited from making anything but gold and silver a legal tender in payment of debts, and although no such express prohibition is applied to Congress, yet, as Congress has no power granted to it in this respect but to coin money and to regulate the value of foreign coins, it clearly has no power to substitute paper or anything else for coin as a tender in payment of debts and in discharge of contracts. Congress has exercised this power fully in both its branches. It has coined money and still coins it; it has regulated the value of foreign coins, and still regulates their value. The legal tender, therefore, the constitutional standard of value, is established, and cannot be overthrown. To overthrow it would shake the whole system."

This was said in the Senate chamber, in the presence of the most distinguished statesmen of the country, and there was no dissenting voice. There was probably no respectable lawyer in the country who doubted the correctness of Mr. Webster's opinion; and yet the Supreme Court has decided that Congress has authority to make the notes of the Government (no matter what their convertible value may be) lawful money and a legal tender. No sovereign in the world ever claimed authority superior to that which Congress possesses, according to this decision. It is a decision which clothes a Government of limited powers with imperialism in a matter of the highest importance to the public welfare. By this decis-

ion, and the substantially prohibitory tax upon circulating notes other than those issued by the Government and the national banks, the States were deprived of the very important and valuable privilege of creating banks of issue, which from the foundation of the Government they had exercised without question.

Henry Clay, who was the recognized father of what was called the American System, and whose interpretation of the Constitution was of the most liberal character, never claimed for Congress the authority to extend the manufacturers anything more than incidental protection under a tariff for revenue. While revenue should be the object, he thought that Tariff Bills should, and ought to be, so framed that the highest duties would be upon such goods as were manufactured at home, so that our manufactures might be indirectly aided by the Government. There were very few men in his time who contended that Congress could, without disregarding the spirit and the letter of the Constitution, make laws to sustain home manufactures without regard to the question of revenue—the object of which laws should be protection, not revenue.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Public Questions still Pending—The Decline of Shipping and its Causes—The Tariff—Needed to Protect Infant Manufactures—Its Increase for War Purposes—Its Effect upon American Shipping—The Negro Question—Relations of the Two Races to Each Other—The Elective Franchise—Hostility Between the Poor and Rich—Danger of our Large Cities—Conversation Between a Citizen of New York and a Citizen of Georgia—Ownership of Land—Made Valuable by Labor—Hardships of Early Settlers in Western Timbered Lands—Few Farms Worth more than the Cost of Cultivation—Taxes on Lands Should be Reduced—Acquisition and Ownership of all Property to be Protected by the Government—Wonderful Growth of the Country—Immigration—Its Value and Possible Offsets—Differences in the Character of the Immigrants—Naturalization Laws Dangerously Liberal—Necessity of Restrictions of Voting in City Elections—Monopolies—The Outlook.

MANY political and economic questions have been discussed and wisely settled in the United States, within the last half century, but there are questions still pending of the greatest importance to the national welfare. The restoration of our merchant marine, the readjustment of the war tariff on imports, the relations between labor and capital—complicated as they are by practical monopolies on one side and theoretic socialism on the other—negro suffrage and unrestricted naturalization—these are matters of the gravest interest.

The following sentences are selected from some rather extended remarks, which I made in my report as Secretary of the Treasury to Congress, in 1866, upon the subject of American shipping.

"No single interest in the United States, fostered although it may be by legislation, can long prosper at the expense of other great interests, nor can any important interest be crushed

by unwise or unequal laws without other interests being thereby prejudiced. The people of the United States are naturally a commercial and maritime people, fond of adventure, bold, enterprising, and persistent. Now the disagreeable fact must be admitted that, with unequal facilities for obtaining the materials, and with acknowledged skill in shipbuilding, with thousands of miles of sea-coast, indented with the finest harbors in the world, with surplus products that require a large and increased tonnage, we can neither profitably build ships, nor successfully compete with English ships in the transportation of our own productions. It is a well-established general fact that the people who build ships navigate them, and that a nation which ceases to build ships, ceases of consequence to be a commercial and maritime nation. Unless, therefore, the cause which prevents the building of ships in the United States shall cease, the foreign carrying trade even of our own productions, must be yielded to other nations. To this humiliation and loss, the people of the United States ought not to subjected. If other branches of industry are to prosper; if agriculture is to be profitable, and manufactures are to be extended; the commerce of the country must be restored, sustained and increased. The United States will not be a first-class power among the nations, nor will her other industrial interests continue long to prosper as they ought, if our commerce is permitted to languish."

The decline in its shipping is the great humiliation of the United States. Less than half a century ago they were second only to Great Britain, with strong indications that they would soon be her superior as a maritime power. The best ships in the world were then built in the United States, chiefly in New England, and our ship-yards not only supplied the home demand, which was very large, but to a considerable extent the foreign demand also. Now, except for the home trade, the building of ships has substantially ceased. It makes one who saw the ship-yards along the New England coast a half a century ago sad as he sees them now. A few steamships are being built there and in the other Atlantic States for coastwise or West Indian and South American trade, but none for the European. In ship-building and ship-owning, except for domestic trade, the United States are behind nations that, a

few years ago, were not known for either. The carrying trade between the Old World and the new is in the hands of Europeans. It is their ships that are crowded with Americans who are constantly visiting the Old World on business or for pleasure; their ships that bring emigrants to our shores; their ships that carry our cotton, our wheat, our beef and pork, our tobacco and petroleum and what not to foreign markets. We no longer share in the glory and the gain which attend upon maritime enterprise. The decline of American shipping commenced with the substitution of iron for wooden ships. It was hastened by our refusal to permit our ship-owners to protect their ships by a foreign flag during the late war, and the finishing blow was given to it by a tariff, which, by taxing the materials that are used in the construction of ships, made them too costly to invite capital in that direction, and forced it into manufactures. That the United States have been enormously enriched by their manufactures, is undeniable, and it is equally undeniable that their rapid growth in manufacturing industries is very largely attributable to high duties upon imports. But why have our tariff laws been so framed as to prejudice and destroy one great interest while fostering others? Why have our people looked on with indifference, why have our law makers been inert, while our ships have been disappearing from the ocean? The answer must be found in the lack of broad and comprehensive statesmanship in Congress and in the Executive branches of the Government. There are, I am happy to say, indications that the public mind is being awakened to the importance of having something done for the restoration of American shipping. Overproduction in manufactures for the home demand, and the want of foreign markets for the surplus, are awakening public attention in this direction. The party of the future will be that party which, comprehending the interests of the whole country, fosters all alike, or relieves the people altogether from the burdens which a partial policy now

imposes. If protection is to be the continued policy of the Government, ship-building should be encouraged, and maritime interests protected, as well as manufactures. If all restrictions are to be removed, and taxation for revenue only is to be the policy, the shipping interest, relieved from the burdens now imposed upon it, with fair compensation to steamships for carrying the mails will take care of itself. It will be a proud day for the United States when American ships share with those of other nations in the business of the seas, and the American flag is seen again in ports from which it has been long banished. It is urged, I know, that the building of ships could not be a profitable industry in the United States, even if the duty on all articles which are used in their construction and outfit were taken off, by reason of the cheaper labor on the other side of the Atlantic. If this were a fact, which I do not believe, what justification can there be for keeping upon the statute book the law that prohibits citizens of the United States from buying foreign-built ships and putting them under our own flag? If we cannot build ships, why should our citizens be prohibited from purchasing them? In no country in the world, except this great, free country of ours, does such a barbarous prohibition exist. If we need ships and cannot build them, why should the right to buy be denied?

The causes of the decline in ship-building were, higher prices of labor and materials in the United States than in Europe, and the tariff. One of these causes has been much modified. Skilled labor has become abundant in the United States within the last twenty years, and greater progress has been made in labor-saving machinery on this side than on the other side of the Atlantic. If all the materials which are needed in the construction of ships were relieved from import duties, the other cause of the decline of our shipping would be removed; but so much ground has been lost by delay, and so strong has become the European monopoly

of ocean traffic that something more is required to build up ship-building in the United States. Not only should ship-building materials be admitted free of duty, but subsidies should be granted to steamships, if not directly, at least in the transportation of the mails. We should, in this respect, do what other nations have done to build up and sustain their maritime interests; but we must not stop here. All efforts to induce investments of capital in ships will be unavailing unless foreign markets are to be secured for what we have to sell. Trade is essentially barter, and there can be no barter as long as trade is fettered with unequal duties on articles to be exchanged. What is needed, then, in the United States, and needed more than anything else to promote general prosperity, is such a modification of our tariff as will facilitate exchanges with other countries. The protective policy must be abandoned. A revenue tariff we must have. Absolute free trade will be among the things hoped for, but not to be gained until the people are prepared to support the Government by excise duties or by direct taxation, which they probably never will be.

That, in the infancy of our manufactures, protective laws were needed, and that the country has been in times past greatly benefited by these laws, is admitted by the advocates of tariff reform. Without Government protection against the competition of British manufacturers, capitalists in the United States would not have engaged in manufacturing. Great Britain, early in the present century, became the workshop of the nations. From 1831 to 1870 she controlled the manufacturing of the world. She had more capital than any other nation, and her people were more skilful in the use of machinery than the people of the Continent. She had also—what they had not—an unlimited supply of coal —the great factor in manufacturing; and if not the inventor of the steam engine, she was the first to utilize it. She was also the leading maritime power of the world, and conse-

quently possessed the facilities for sending her goods to all ports that were open to her ships. To make the most of these advantages she adopted the principles of free trade. By it the raw materials which she needed were admitted free from taxation and paid for in the productions of her mills. By this means she had obtained a manufacturing ascendency too formidable to be competed with by capitalists of the United States without government aid. It was to free the United States from dependency upon Great Britain for the goods which were needed, and of which they might be deprived in case of war between the two nations, that our first protective laws were enacted. These laws were, for many years, simply revenue laws with incidental protection. They were afterwards so changed that protection became the object and revenue the incident. "I am in favor of a judicious tariff," said John Quincy Adams, in a conversation with Henry Clay and others. "I am in favor of a judicious tariff." "And I," said Mr. Clay, "am in favor of a tariff, judicious or not." Congress has of late years been altogether with Mr. Clay, and adhered to protection until it has become burdensome upon the people—depriving producers, to a considerable extent, of the benefits of foreign markets for our surplus of agricultural productions, for which, at remunerative prices, there is insufficient foreign demand, and, what is worse than all, our protective tariff has created a demand for laborers, which has brought over immense numbers of foreigners, for whom already there is insufficient employment, and who are consequently restive and may become dangerous.

Conceding that protective tariffs were needed to induce investments in home manufactures, and to sustain them when they were too feeble to compete unaided with Great Britain, it is clear to my mind that our tariff laws should have a thorough revision for the purpose of accommodating them to the changed condition of the industrial interests of the country. Protection was originally and properly advocated on the ground

that without it manufacturing could make no headway against the crushing power of British capital, and on this ground only. Thirty years ago, few if any of the advocates of protection were bold enough to advocate it as a permanent policy. It was to be temporary—not perpetual. When the expenses of the civil war began to require immense revenues, the tariff was largely increased, and a patriotic people submitted to the additional burden thus laid upon them, because they had resolved that the Government should be sustained. Not only was the tariff increased, but an excise system was adopted under which almost everything that could be reached by the tax collectors was heavily taxed. Nothing more was heard then about protection. Revenue was what was needed, and taxation was chiefly submitted to, not only for revenue, but to give credit to the immense loans that the Government was obliged to resort to; and it so happened that these taxes, heavy as they were, and indiscriminately as they were levied, neither diminished production nor checked importation. On the contrary, both were increased. So great was the Government demand for war material and the support of the army and the navy, that existing cotton, woolen and iron mills were worked to their full capacity, and new ones were created and at the same time foreign importations were greatly stimulated. To pay for needful supplies, immense sums of money were required, and this requirement was met by the issue of Government notes, so that in a great and destructive war—the greatest and most destructive war that has ever been carried on—the loyal States seemed to be highly prosperous, and the burden of taxation was not felt.

When the war ended, the paper circulation of the country (money, as it is improperly called), instead of being reduced as it should have been, was increased through the agency of the national banks, and artificial prosperity continued until the crisis of 1873 put a temporary end to it. The terrible depression which followed this crisis, was however, of short

continuance. The spirit of the people was too elastic and buoyant and energetic to be long depressed. Millions of debts were wiped out by the Bankrupt Act. The Government notes were not called in, and bank notes practically irredeemable were abundant—for both of which employment must be found; and this employment was found in the construction of railroads, many of which were built not for business which required them, but for the business they were expected to create. So capital went into railroads in amounts that would have been ruinous had not short crops in Europe and abundant crops in the United States greatly increased railroad traffic and created balances in our favor which were settled by importations of gold.

All this is now being changed. Manufacturing of all kinds has been overdone. Mills have been built where they can never be profitable, no matter what government protection may be given to them. Our agricultural productions are declining in value. The tariff is gradually shutting up foreign markets against our manufactured goods, and favorable crops in Europe are diminishing the demand for our breadstuffs. Foreign nations, upon whose productions heavy duties are imposed, buy of us only what they greatly need and cannot dispense with the use of, and these articles are chiefly limited to cotton, wheat, corn, tobacco, petroleum, beef and pork, and our markets for some of these articles are in danger. India is becoming a formidable competitor in the great wheat market of Great Britain, and petroleum from Russia is competing with the petroleum from the United States in the markets of which in this article we have had for years the absolute control. But this is not all. The European nations, except Great Britain, are following our example, and, in self-defence, are adopting a protective policy. They are steadily increasing their import duties upon articles which they can produce themselves, and are endeavoring to be as independent of us as we may be of them. To understand how damaging their

action is likely to be to the farmers and manufacturers of the United States, it is only necessary to call to mind the facts that our farm products are selling for scarcely enough to cover the cost of production, although not a quarter of our agricultural lands are under cultivation; and that our iron and steel, our cotton and woolen factories, if working on only half time, could supply, and more than supply, the home demand. What the great productive interests of the United States now need is, not protective duties, but MARKETS. To remedy the evils which are now to be faced, wise counsels are needed in Congress. The attention of our law-makers must be diverted from the making of Presidents and the distribution of patronage to the economic questions upon the proper solution of which the permanent well-being of the people most depends. These questions are the currency, shipping, and the tariff. The currency question must soon come to the front as a vital question. My views upon this question have been frequently, officially and unofficially, expressed. About our tariff and shipping I must say a few words more.

The Government is mainly to be supported, as it was before the late civil war, by a tax upon imports, which, although the most insidious, and in some respects the most unequal of all taxes, is, as it has always been, the most popular, by reason of its being felt only indirectly by consumers. Against such duties there never will be serious complaint, and when judiciously imposed, separated as the United States are from European nations by the broad Atlantic (neither Canada nor Mexico, nor the South American States can be formidable competitors), they will afford all the protection that our manufacturers really need or can fairly claim. In asking more than this, they are asking that the whole people shall continue to be taxed for the benefit of a few. Much the larger part of the revenue required for the support of this Government and the payment of the national debt must be derived from duties upon imports; and it will therefore be

impossible so to reduce them that they will not be protective. A tariff for revenue only is what is now required to open foreign markets to our various manufactured goods and our agricultural productions. Without these markets our great industrial interests can never be permanently prosperous. Time will be required to overcome what has already been lost, but it will be recovered, and more than recovered, if wisdom prevails in our national councils. The opinion which I formed when I was Secretary of the Treasury—from 1865 to 1869—that the well-established factories in the United States no longer needed protection, was confirmed by my observations while I resided in England. Wages are lower in Great Britain than in the United States, but labor is less effective. Men move quicker and do more per day in the latter country than in the former. A dollar will command as much service in manufacturing in the United States as in Great Britain. Besides, manufacturing is no longer the work of hands chiefly, but of machinery, in the invention and use of which Americans excel all other peoples. I speak advisedly, when I say that the far-seeing British manufacturers look forward with dread to the time, which is sure to come about, when, by an abandonment of its protective policy, the United States will become the great competitor of Great Britain in the markets which she now substantially controls. That a country with sixty millions of people, rapidly increasing in population, washed by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, with thousands of miles indented with the finest of harbors; with unequalled facilities for ship-building; with a soil better fitted to produce cotton, tobacco, maize, cattle and hogs, than is possessed by any other country, and with equal capabilities for the production of wheat;—that such a country should be without ships to transport its surplus to foreign ports, is an anomaly in the history of nations; that in such a country, with manufactories of all descriptions well established and skilfully managed, with plenty of capital and cheap money, manufacturers, who have become

enriched by our protective tariff, should claim more protection than a tariff for revenue will afford, is unreasonable and unjust.

The Tariff ought to be carefully considered not only with regard to its burdens upon consumers, but in its bearing upon commerce and navigation. The leading nations of the world have been commercial, and ship-building and ship-owning nations. Such they were in mediæval ages, and such they will always be. It was by such nations that trade was extended and civilization was carried into countries that had been degraded by their isolation. By such nations, in search of markets for their productions, the American continent was discovered, and all great land discoveries made. What has made Great Britain the nation she is—the nation upon whose domain the sun never sets? Not her manufactories alone—extensive, varied and profitable as they have been—but her manufactures, her commerce, and her shipping combined. Why have her merchants been able to take raw materials from all other nations in exchange for their manufactured goods? Is it not because she has exempted those raw materials from import duties? Why is her flag seen upon every sea? By what means has her supremacy as a commercial and maritime power been secured and maintained? Is it not mainly because her statesmen have understood the simple fact that trade is barter, and have freed it from all restrictions. In all natural advantages, the United States are greatly superior to Great Britain. While, including her colonies, her domain is more extensive, the territory over which she has absolute control is insignificant in comparison, and so doubtful is her hold upon her colonial possessions, that some of her wisest statesmen have thought that she would be stronger without them. In what respect is she superior to the United States? Not certainly in productions of prime necessity, not in cotton or wool, not in cattle nor swine, or grain of all kinds, not even in what may be called luxuries, such as fruits of all

descriptions—not in precious metals, nor even in iron, lead or copper, which are more valuable than the precious metals; nor in the inventive power and manufacturing skill of her people. In everything necessary for national growth, everything needful for the comfort and happiness of the people, the United States are vastly superior to Great Britain. In two things only are they inferior; in commerce, by which is meant free exchanges of natural and artificial productions, and in shipping, without which in combination they cannot take precedence of Great Britain, and become what they ought to be, and what, with wise legislation, they would soon become, the leading nation of the world, to which all other nations would be tributary. Without freer exchanges and a revival of their shipping interests, the United States, no matter how rich and populous they may become, will never be a great nation in all that is needful for national greatness. No nation can be truly great that depends upon other nations for the means of transporting its productions to foreign markets, or lessens the demand for them by restrictions upon trade. A half century ago the United States were almost supreme upon the ocean. Now they have no rank as a maritime power.

Among my acquaintances in Boston was Mr. Paul Peter Francis Degrand, who may be recollected by some of the old citizens of that city. Mr. Degrand was a Frenchman of extensive business knowledge, who was greatly interested in the growth of the United States as a maritime and commercial nation. He was no friend of the English, and he looked hopefully to the time when the United States and not Britannia should rule the waves. In the last conversation which I had with him, before leaving for the West, he said: "My young friend, you are going to the new country, where you will have plenty of other things to think about than the business of the seas; but if you will come back to Boston ten or fifteen years hence, I will have the pleasure of congratulating you upon the fact that the sceptre has been wrested from England by what

a few years ago was one of her colonies—that her ocean supremacy has been lost forever." He did not, I believe, live long enough to see how baseless were his hopes.

I am proud of my country, of her growth, her greatness, and especially of her free institutions; but I cannot help being humiliated by the consideration that our merchants must establish credits in London, in order to pay for their purchases abroad; and that our Government is compelled to maintain an agency in that city for the payment of its representatives in foreign lands, and the expenses of its ships of war in foreign ports.

While the abolition of slavery has put an end to the original cause of sectional antipathy, it would be fortunate for the country if questions of a very serious character had not arisen in consequence of it. With the boon of freedom came the elective franchise. By amendments of the Constitution, in the passage of which the Southern States had no voice, the colored people of the South, from a condition of servitude, were made the political equals of their former owners. The highest of all privileges was conferred upon men who had never known freedom, and were destitute of qualifications for an intelligent use of the ballot. The enfranchisement of the recent slaves was regarded by both branches of Congress, as an indispensable adjunct of freedom, without which slavery would not be absolutely uprooted. I thought this policy of immediate enfranchisement unwise and dangerous at the time, and the results have not been such as to change my opinion. It has added largely to the political power of the South without increasing, to any considerable extent, the number of independent voters. By the abolition of slavery, and the enfranchisement of the recent slaves, the dividing line between the two races, instead of being obliterated, has been more strictly defined. As it had become apparent before the war that the country could not permanently remain part slave and part free—that sooner or later either freedom or slavery must

become dominant—so now it is apparent, that in the States in which slavery recently existed, one race or the other must exercise political control. That the true interests of both races require that this control should be in the hands of the white, there can, I think, be no doubt. To doubt it would be a tacit admission, not only that the African race is intellectually equal to the Caucasian, but that the severe and continued discipline to which the latter has been subjected in its long struggle for higher and higher civilization has given it no superiority over the former, degraded and enslaved as it has been for countless ages.

A hater of slavery as I have always been, with no prejudice against colored men, but on the contrary entertaining for them the kindest feeling, and anxious as any man can be for their elevation and welfare, it is very evident to me that at the time of their emancipation and enfranchisement they were not, are not yet, and probably never will be, qualified to properly control the government of any of the States of the Union. Hitherto they have been in many instances, most unfortunately, the tools of designing white men, who have used them for other purposes than their own advantage, or the public good. This was witnessed in the history of South Carolina, when by the exercise of the Federal power, they had the control of that State. That they have been used in other States for pernicious purposes, cannot be honestly denied. It was their votes that placed in power the men who loaded States with enormous debts; their votes which afterwards gave the control to men by whom these debts were repudiated. Had it not been for the colored votes, the ante-war debt of Virginia would long since have been settled in a manner satisfactory both to the tax-payers and holders of her bonds, and the credit of the State freed from the stain of repudiation, which now rests upon it. Politics force even fair-minded men into strange inconsistencies. The same men who, in our large cities, regard with apprehension the increasing power which is

wielded in municipal elections by those who have no property to be protected or taxed, manifest little sympathy for the white people of the South in their efforts to prevent the political control, not only of their cities, but of their States, from passing into the hands of those who have little or no property, and are quite unfit for the exercise of sovereign authority. If New York, Boston, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Chicago were independent cities, with no laws in force except those which were enacted by their aldermen, how long would the property in these cities retain its present value? How long would the earnings of honest industry be protected? If the political control of such States as South Carolina and Mississippi—the latter with a population of 479,371 whites, and 652,221 colored; the former with a population of 391,244 whites, and 604,398 colored, were in the hands of the majority, how long would these States be desirable or even safe States for white men to live in? Cities are protected by State laws and State authority. States have no outside protection against a majority misrule. The colored people are already not only a majority in some of the States, but according to the recent returns are increasing much more rapidly than the whites. What, then, is there to prevent them from taking the sovereignty of these States absolutely into their own hands? It is the general, but to a large degree unexpressed, sentiment of the thoughtful people of the United States that our naturalization laws are injudicious and dangerous—that the franchise should have been conferred upon native-born citizens only. With what favor, then, can the Reconstruction Act, which gave the ballot to nearly a million of men who had been recently relieved from slavery be regarded? The foreigners who come to our shores to become citizens, undesirable as many of them may be, belong to the great Caucasian family, by which the country was first settled. The colored people are an alien race, a distinct people, and can never be assimilated to the white race. When liberty to the slave was proclaimed by Mr. Lincoln, and confirmed by amendment

of the Constitution, the prevailing opinion of Northern men was, that the colored people would rapidly decline in numbers, and pass away, as has been the case with the Indians; or be scattered over the country where laborers were scarce. Such has not been the case. Instead of diminishing in numbers, they have been rapidly increasing. Instead of availing themselves of their freedom, by leaving their old homes, they have, with rare exceptions, remained there. Their local attachments are strong, and the climate of the South is not only the climate to which they have been accustomed, but the climate to which they are by nature adapted. They are more needed there, and are better off than they would be in any of the Northern or Western States. They will remain and rapidly increase where they are, and there must the serious questions growing out of their emancipation be met and solved. What the solution will be, no one can foresee with certainty. I hazard the opinion, however, that none of the Southern States will ever be permanently subject to the domination of the colored people. If, by their superior numbers, they should obtain political control, their exercise of it would be similar to that which was witnessed in South Carolina, soon after the close of the war, against which the indignation of the whole country was aroused. How, then, can this domination be prevented? First the General Government should abstain as it has done for some years from all interference with local affairs. Second, in filling the Federal offices in the Southern States, men of the highest reputation for intelligence and integrity should be selected. Immense injury was done in 1869 and 1870 to the Southern States, and consequently to the whole country, by the appointment of men who were notoriously unfit for the positions to which they were appointed; men who used their offices to advance, not the public interests, but their own. It was impossible but that the white people of these States should have felt unkindly toward the Government, by the power of which

they had been crushed upon the battle-field, and deprived of what had been property under an institution whose roots were entwined with their economical and social systems. But this feeling would soon have passed away, if carpet-baggers, which in most cases was only a name for plunderers, had not been appointed to Federal offices in the Southern States. In the position which I held at the time, I had favorable opportunities for knowing what the feelings of the leading men of the South were at the close of the war. I did not expect that men who had been conquered and stripped of everything but their land, and in some cases even of that; who in four years had been reduced from most prosperous circumstances to a state of absolute destitution, would be grateful to the Government by which—albeit by their own fault—these evils had come upon them; but I was most favorably impressed with the disposition which they manifested to accommodate themselves to their changed condition, unpleasant as it was, and to become again law-abiding citizens of the Republic. If the advice of the lamented Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts, had been followed; if the proffered hand of friendship and conciliation had not been rejected, and the Southern people had not been prevented, in their own but strictly legal way, from restoring their waste places, and building up their ruined fortunes, the South would not have been politically solid. It was the action of the Government after the war was ended and submission had been yielded to the Federal authority, and the unwise administration of Federal patronage, which produced this political solidity. It is the outside pressure—the efforts of politicians to retain or acquire power—that are keeping sectional feeling alive. By the honors conferred upon Confederate generals—by the respect which was shown by Congress to the Vice-President of the Confederacy, the Government has been precluded from regarding the war as treasonable (for treason is always and everywhere an unpardonable crime); neither in the opinion of the people of the South

was it even a rebellion against a recognized and superior government. It was an attempted assertion by violence of a right for which many of the leading men of the South had always contended—the right of States to secede from the Union in the exercise of their State sovereignty. It was, in fact, a resort to arms for a settlement of a question that could not be settled in any other way. Fortunately for the people of the whole country, it was settled rightly and definitely and forever. Enormous as was the cost of the settlement in money and in blood, it is small in comparison with what the country and the whole country would have suffered if the right of secession had been established, and the Union (the maintenance of which is not only essential to all who live under it, but to the cause of liberty throughout the world), had been rent asunder with never-ending strife between the separated States. But nothing is to be gained by the consideration of what might have been under a different and wiser system of government policy. The error has been committed; what is now to be done is to modify and overcome as far as practicable its effects, and after outside interference has been discontinued, and the colored people understand that the Government, by their emancipation, has done for them all it can do, and that hereafter their welfare and elevation must depend upon their own efforts the great problem of what is to be the political future of these States must be worked out by the joint action of the two races.

The whites being the superior race in intelligence and energy, and the chief landholders, must be the dominant race, but this domination must be maintained without violence, and without disregard of the rights of the colored race. The franchise having been granted, there must be a free ballot, and this, in my judgment, will very soon bring about a division of the colored vote. Nothing will be more sure, after outside interference has ceased, to make this vote solid, than prevention of a free exercise of opinion at the polls. Let the colored

people understand that they can vote as they please, and the solidity of their vote will disappear. When divided, it may be for a time under the influence of demagogues, but their influence will be short-lived. Demagogues always fail to make good their promises and live up to their professions, and this the colored people will readily find out. The best interests of the two races are the same. They cannot be permanently disunited. There is no antagonism on the part of the colored people toward the white, except that which has been created by partisans for party purposes, or by demagogues for their own base ends. There cannot be antagonism on the part of the white people toward the colored, on whom they must mainly depend for the cultivation of their fields, and to whom all gratitude is due for their admirable behavior in the late civil war. That, during a war which called into the Confederate service not only all the able-bodied white men of the South, but all who could render it service of any kind, and left thousands of families under the protection of slaves, there should not have been a single instance of violence, and scarcely one of unfaithfulness, is one of the marvels in the history of the civil war. As long as the memory of the conduct of the slaves in this momentous struggle is cherished, antagonism between the races would be as unnatural as it would be prejudicial to their mutual interests.

I have said more than I intended to say upon the effect of the bestowment of the franchise upon the recent slave, but I cannot forbear to say a few words upon the greater problem of what is to be the effect of unrestricted manhood suffrage, which exists in all the States except Rhode Island. I say unrestricted, because in most of the States the payment of a poll tax is the only qualification, and the payment of this tax by candidates for office is too frequently the price paid for votes. The suffrage question presents problems as difficult of solution in the North as in the South. There is more

hostility between the poor and the rich—between the employers and the employed—in the Northern and Western States than there is, or ever can be, between the white and colored people of the South. The enormous increase of the wealth in these States has not been widely distributed. It has been largely confined to a comparative few, whose gains have not been generally the result of legitimate business, but of monopolies of various kinds, and the profits of enterprises in which the many have had no share. There are no legalized monopolies in the United States, and yet there is no other country in the world in which monopolies exist to a greater degree. Where else is the trade of large cities and small so steadily finding its way into few hands—where is concentrated capital so omnipotent as in the United States? Money is becoming steadily the controlling power in this free land of ours. In its acquisition, the end seems to justify the means. With the accumulation of wealth by a comparative few, there has been a growing antagonism on the part of manual laborers, and also on the part of those who have been only partially successful in business enterprises, not only against those who have become suddenly rich, but against all rich people. This antagonism is exhibited in our large cities, and it will become intensified as inequalities increase. To such a degree does this antagonism already exist, that if the cities which I have named were freed from the protecting laws of the States to which they belong, they would hardly be, as has been said, safe cities for rich men to live in. What is to be the fate of these cities when the States become densely inhabited? is certainly a question of as much interest to the people of the Northern States as is the question, How can the colored vote be properly controlled? to the people of the South. The problem of manhood suffrage is as likely to be of as difficult solution, consistently with the proper protection of persons and property in the Northern States as in the Southern. The people of the North will have enough to do at home for self-

preservation, without troubling themselves as to what may be happening in the South.

"Should I be well received in Georgia," said a citizen of New York to a Georgian; "should I be well received in Georgia if I should go there to become a citizen of the State?" "Certainly you would," was the reply. "Should I feel myself at liberty to avow myself a Republican, and vote the Republican ticket as I do in New York?" "Unquestionably, sir." "But if I should go to your country, and attempt to build up a Republican party there, to be chiefly composed of the blacks, how then?" "You certainly would not do that," was the answer. The New Yorker thought this answer sufficient to justify the opinion that there was no political freedom in Georgia. Now suppose the Georgian had become the questioner. "If I, a Georgia Democrat and recent slave-holder, should go to New York to live, should I be as well received by Republicans as if I were one of their own party?" "Undoubtedly," would have been the reply; "your right to be a Democrat and vote the Democratic ticket, would never be questioned." "But if I should undertake to strengthen the Democratic party by working with foreigners and socialists, and urging them to unite in active aggression upon the capitalists of the State; or if I should go into the manufacturing districts, and should advise the workmen to combine for the protection of their rights, and build up a workingman's party, what then?" "You certainly would not do that," would have been the proper reply. We see no harm in a united colored vote at the South, but we are wide awake to the danger of a united vote of foreigners and socialists, and laboring men generally in our Northern cities. The danger which threatens our large cities and manufacturing districts owes its existence to the fact that the political control of such cities and districts is passing into the hands of men who have nothing at stake. It is not especially capital that is thus endangered. Capitalists know how to take care

of themselves. They are not the chief sufferers by bad laws and the bad administration of them, but the hard-working, economical classes, who, by industry and thrift, are endeavoring to make an honest living. The safety of every industrious tax-payer in the Northern cities and manufacturing districts would be imperilled by the domination of those who contribute little or nothing to the public revenues.

I said in the first chapter, that the gains of wealth in the United States were mainly the result of agricultural and manufacturing industry, and of the increase in the value of land; and that this increase in the value of land was in a very great degree attributable to canals and railroads, chiefly the latter, without which the most of the country would have remained a wilderness, etc. There is, in these times, much discussion in regard to landed property, and it is claimed by even fair-minded, intelligent men, that land is the gift of God, to which none should have the right of exclusive ownership; —that the manner in which it is held in all civilized countries is a wrong to the public, and the main cause of the poverty which is so generally prevalent. That in some countries land is held in too large quantities by comparatively few people, whose ownership is perpetuated by legislation or sovereign power, is undoubtedly true. In such countries there is little free trade in land, and the ownership of a home, no matter how humble, is beyond the reach of the great mass of the people. The effect of this has been the creation of a landed aristocracy, to the power of which labor has been subjected. Nothing of this kind exists in the United States. Here not only is there free trade in land, but the Government has been for years, by homestead laws and the low prices at which its immense territories of fertile lands have been subject to entry, holding out the strongest possible inducements to industrious people to secure for themselves homes. Strangely enough, however, some of the most earnest opponents of the exclusive ownership of land are in the United States. In their opinion,

as land was not created by man, no man should be the absolute owner of any portion of it;—that it should be held by the State for the benefit of all. To correct the wrong which land-ownership is inflicting upon the public, these advocates of equal rights contend that land should be so taxed that the owner would be willing to surrender his right to it.

Land, it is true, is the gift of God, but it is by man's labor that it has been made valuable. It is admitted by the land reformer, that the improvements, being of man's creation, should not be taxed; but it is the improvements that have given value to the land, and it would be practically impossible to tax the latter without taxing the former. Nearly all the land in the United States east of the Wabash and Mississippi rivers was covered with dense forests, and every acre of it which has been cultivated has cost more in labor and other needful expenditures than it would sell for. I speak, of course, of lands which have not been made valuable by their minerals, or by being the sites of cities or towns, or their proximity to them. I question very much that there are any farms outside of the prairies, and away from large towns, which, if they were charged with the labor bestowed upon them, at the rate of one dollar a day for men, and fifty cents a day for women, and with other necessary outlays (their original cost not included) and credited with the market value of their productions, and their estimated present value, would exhibit a balance on the right side of the account.

No one who has known anything about the hardships which were endured by the first settlers in the timbered lands of the United States, their unceasing toil, their actual want, not of the comforts, but of the necessaries of life when in health, to say nothing of what they needed and could not be supplied with in sickness, during the long and wearisome years which came and went before they had cleared enough of their lands to enable them to begin to enjoy

the fruits of their sacrifices and labors; no one who has known anything about all this will be found among those who speak of land as being God's gift, and therefore property of which there should not be absolute ownership. In travelling from Fort Wayne to Indianapolis, in the early days of the West, over, or rather through, roads that for a good part of the year could only be travelled by men on foot or well-mounted horsemen, and in noticing the slow progress which was being made in the opening up of the country, the question naturally presented itself, Would men who could support themselves in any other way, or in any other place, make their homes in this wilderness, and undergo the deprivations they are to be subject to, and labor as they must for a good part of their lives before they can make a comfortable living? These settlers were invariably poor men; three or four hundred dollars would cover the entire outfit of a majority of them—their lands, their teams, their cows, their farming implements, their axes and rifles. It was chiefly by such men that the timbered lands of Ohio and Indiana were settled. I have seen hundreds of such beginnings, and have admired the endurance, the patience, the persevering industry by which forest lands have been converted into productive farms; I do not say profitable farms, because few farms are profitable. Men who, like the late Dr. Gwinn, of California, have bought at low prices extensive tracts of land which were ready for the plough, and which for a time needed no fertilization, and cultivated them by machinery for wheat, have undoubtedly made money out of them; but as the wheat-producing qualities of the soil become exhausted, and restoratives become necessary, profits will decline, and may soon disappear altogether. Lands naturally adapted to grazing may yield indefinitely good returns, because they do not become exhausted by being grazed; but they are exceptional. The alluvial lands on the lower Mississippi, and on some of its tributaries, might also be excepted, for so deep is the soil, that they may be regarded

as being practically inexhaustible; but they are subject to overflow and droughts, and good crops on even these lands are by no means certain.

On the whole, farming is not a profitable business in the United States. It is a healthful employment, productive of strong and vigorous men; but it is not attractive, and it is not attractive because it is not profitable. Seldom do the sons of well-to-do farmers become farmers. As soon as they are old enough to strike out for themselves, they will be found in the towns, not upon the farms. Nor are lands in the old States which are not near enough to populous cities to be profitably used for market gardens increasing in value. So far is this from being the case that very few farms in those States could be sold to-day for prices which they readily commanded twenty years ago. Investments in lands which are valuable for agriculture only, are not regarded with favor by capitalists. Better use for their money is found elsewhere. If thanks are due to God for the land, greater thanks are due to Him for the muscle and the patient industry by which it has been brought under cultivation, and by which its producing properties are preserved; and yet these cultivators of the soil are among those whose property should be confiscated, because they did not create what they have made valuable. Land is less able to bear heavy taxes than almost any other kind of property. The taxes to which cultivated land is now subjected in most of the States, instead of being advanced should be reduced, for the purposes of increasing the number of farmers. In most of the European States, especially in Great Britian, lands are heavily taxed—so heavily, that they can be held only by the rich. In that country the landholders are monopolists, and they will continue to be so until free trade in land is established, and the taxes upon it are so reduced that men of moderate means can afford to be the owners.

No greater mistake was ever made by intelligent men than is made by those who suppose that monopolies can be

broken up or weakened, and property can be more evenly distributed in the United States by increase of taxes upon land, which is the cheapest thing upon the market. It is true that in cities, lots to be built upon for homes are beyond the reach of all except those whose incomes are considerably greater than their outlays; but this is unavoidable. Cities are limited in extent, and the value of lots depends upon the demand for them for building purposes. In a few cities, especially in Philadelphia, some who belong to what are called the laboring classes are the owners of their homes, but this is not often the case. With comparatively few exceptions, those whose living depends upon their manual labor are renters or boarders. There is, however, compensation for these deprivations. Wages are higher in the city than in the country, and greater inducements to save as well as to spend are found there than exist elsewhere. Men are naturally gregarious, and when thrown together, they have enjoyments of life, although subject to great discomforts. In cities, however, as well as in the country, it is labor and the fruits of labor that have made the ground valuable, and it is difficult to see how the public would be benefited if city lots were to be confiscated, subject to the outlay that has been made upon them. None but anarchists have gone so far as to contend that the property of man's creation should be subject to division among the people, or become the property of the State. But in this free land of ours, for whose benefit should property of any kind be confiscated? Not for the benefit of those who are able and willing to work; for them there is rarely lack of employment at remunerative wages, and the way to rise in the world is open before them. Not for the benefit of those who are disabled—their wants, when made known, are relieved by private or public charities. Nine-tenths of the rich and prominent people of the United States have made their upward way in the world without help from others. Of the wealthy men, or the men of large

social or political influence whom I have known personally, or with whose history I am familiar, I call to mind very few who have not made themselves what they are by their own exertions. With rare exceptions, they are the offspring of poor men, or of men of very limited means. The opportunities for those who are self-dependent to make headway in life are not now, it is admitted, as great in the United States as they were some years ago; but one has only to look about him to see large numbers of such people rising above the level from which they started, soon to be conspicuous in business, in society, in politics. Poverty always has prevailed and always will prevail to a greater or less degree in all countries —in the freest as well as the most despotic—until, under some new dispensation, mankind become equal in natural gifts, in capacity and disposition to acquire and retain, in mental and physical power. Until then the industrious and the indolent, the thrifty and the unthrifty, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, will be found in all communities. If all the property in the world should be equally divided, in a few brief years inequalities like those which are now complained of would prevail. The differences in the circumstances of the race are to some extent produced by unequal and unjust government and laws, but they are largely in most countries, and altogether in the United States, the result of constitutional dissimilarities, which always have and always will exist. There can be no equalizing power short of Divine Power, and that power will, as heretofore, continue to be manifested through unchanging law.

Of all governments which have existed in civilized nations, none has been so bad as a paternal government would be. The permanency of our free institutions depends more than anything else upon our homes—our independent homes. Of all property, the homestead should be subject to the lightest taxation. In some States humble homes are protected against the claims of creditors; they ought everywhere to be protected

against the tax collector. Great differences in the condition of men have existed and will exist under all forms of government, and these differences will be most marked under the freest, where natural gifts have full play. All that can be done by the best government is to provide for the protection of life and property, the enforcement of just and equal laws; anything more than this would be tyranny. Without perfect liberty to acquire, and without protection to whatever may be lawfully acquired, no matter what might be the character of the property, enterprise would cease, and government would be a mockery.

In looking back upon a long life, nothing of course seems so wonderful to me as the growth of the country in the physical elements of national greatness—territory, population wealth. This growth, so unprecedented in the world's history, has been effected without any change in the character of the Government; without any departure from the principles upon which it was established or material change of the Constitution which was adopted for its preservation. Nevertheless changes have taken place, the effect of which upon our republican institutions cannot be contemplated without apprehension.

Immigration, considered merely with regard to its pecuniary and economical results, has been of immense gain to the United States. It is estimated that since the formation of the Government more than thirteen millions of immigrants have come to the United States, and that if each brought with him sixty dollars in money, the pecuniary gain has been about eight hundred millions; but the gain in this respect has been small in comparison with what the immigrants were worth as laborers in the varied branches of industry. Estimating them to have been equal in value to the slaves in the Southern States, they have added to the national wealth three times as much as our national debt amounted to at the close of the

civil war. What the offsets may be to this enormous gain are yet to be determined. The true wealth of a country is not to be measured by acreage or money, but by the quality of its people. If the effect of the foreign immigration should prove to be deleterious to the character of the population, the gain referred to would have been dearly acquired.

That the worst and most dangerous part of the population of the United States are foreigners, is proven by the criminal records, and by the utterances of socialists. Not only have the industrious and honest been invited to come to our country to secure homes for themselves, but the door has been thrown wide open to the lazy and the disreputable—the very classes that foreign governments have been glad to be rid of. Nor is this all. Money has been furnished to enable foreigners to come and be workmen in our factories and shops because they would work cheaper than native-born citizens. A very large part, if not a majority, of the population in some of our great manufacturing towns are foreigners, many of whom have soon learned enough of American freedom to be disorderly and dangerous.

The greatest mistake which has been made by the Government of the United States has been in conferring upon foreigners the elective franchise. So short is the period required for their naturalization, that hundreds of thousands have become voters before they knew anything about the nature of republican institutions—before even they could speak the language of the country. The majority of them are doubtless well-meaning people, but they naturally fall under the influence of those who are not. With the workingmen, have come men, who are revolutionists by nature, or who have been made such by real or fancied injustice in their native lands. To denounce the Government, and to make their followers believe that all governments are tyrannical, and ought to be overthrown, seems to be considered by these men their especial duty. Others do not go quite so far as this—they are more

moderate in their demands; they contend that property should be held and owned in common; that exclusive ownership by the few is oppression to the many; that the laws have been made by the rich and for their benefit, to the great injustice of the poor; and that they should be so changed that all would fare alike. If these men, with their blind and ignorant followers, were not voters, they would be comparatively harmless; but they are not only voters, but some of them active politicians, and when the two great parties are nearly evenly divided, their votes are courted by both. They are already a dangerous class, and are likely to become more dangerous, as they are rapidly increasing in numbers, and are becoming cohesive by organization. It is very clear to my mind that none but native-born citizens ought to have been permitted to be voters; that immense risk has been incurred —not by making the United States an asylum for the oppressed—not in opening the door for foreigners to become inhabitants under the protection of just and equal laws, *but by inviting them to come and participate in the law-making and governing power.* The elective franchise, which ought to have been considered the most precious of all rights, has been freely bestowed upon those who have no knowledge of its value, and upon those who use it for other than patriotic purposes.

It may now be too late, in the present condition of political parties, to change effectively our naturalization laws, but there might be a limitation upon the franchise in municipal elections, and it is very certain that this must be done if our large cities are to be properly governed, and sufficient safeguards are to be thrown around persons and property. Municipal governments should be created and conducted on business principles. No one should be a voter who is not the owner of property. The amount required need not be large, but it should be large enough to indicate that the voter has something at stake. Manhood suffrage in municipal elections is,

to say the least, a dangerous experiment; a law that places upon an equality in voting the lazy vagabond and the enterprising wealth-producing citizen, is certainly neither just nor reasonable.

The Government is as I have said, stronger than it was a half century ago, but has not this increase of strength been at the expense of republicanism? We claim that the United States is the freest country in the world—the only country, except Switzerland, in which the people have equal rights. Equal rights before the law are indeed possessed by everybody here; but are there not combinations of interests which prevent the full play of natural rights—which hold in check if they do not destroy individual enterprise? In what other country can be found such companies as have been organized in the United States for the purpose of controlling the manufacture, the transportation, and the price of goods? Where can be found an organization like the Standard Oil Company, which absolutely controls the market of an article for which there is an immense and constant demand, and stamps out competition; or even such companies as have been formed to regulate the production of iron and steel and coal? In what other country do manufacturers who are protected by tariffs against foreign competition combine by trusts and other agencies to prevent domestic competition? There is no country of which I have any knowledge in which business of all descriptions is so steadily falling into fewer and fewer hands, in which combinations are so powerful, and individuals so powerless, as the United States—no country in which the solution of the labor question may be more difficult. We have yet to learn that there may be as little personal freedom under republican institutions as under monarchies, and that the best efforts of all good citizens should be to prevent the great republic from being a free country in name only.

That these efforts will not be wanting I have an abiding faith. Congress has the power, by opening the way for freer

trade with other nations, to destroy most of the existing monopolies, and this power will ere long be exerted. There is, however, as has been said, one danger ahead which cannot be easily surmounted. By our naturalization laws—by extending the highest privilege to men utterly destitute of proper qualifications for its exercise—by inviting to our shores to assist in administering the State and National governments men who consider it their duty to fight all governments, we have done much to make our grand experiment a failure. It is now impossible to undo what was unwisely done—to deprive those to whom it has been granted of the franchise, but not too late to prevent an increase of the threatening danger. If our naturalization laws, National and State, should be so changed that none should vote in any elections but those who, when the change is made, have the right to vote, and that thereafter none but the native-born should be voters, the danger would not be entirely removed, but it would greatly lessened. If this should not be done—if revolutionists, who are rapidly increasing in numbers in Europe, should continue to be invited to come and participate in the government of the Republic—how long will, not capitalists only, but industrious, frugal, liberty-loving men be able to contemplate the future without misgivings? If the Republic is to be short-lived like those which have heretofore existed, unrestricted manhood suffrage will be the cause. It is the only really grave danger that threatens the life of the Republic.

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